

IRA J. GORDON



Human Development

From Birth Through Adolescence





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Human
Development



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JOHN GUY FOWLKES

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Human Development

From Birth Through Adolescence

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HUMAN DEVELOPMENT: FROM BIRTH THROUGH ADOLESCENCE

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To my wife, Esther,
and our children,
Bonnie and Gary

Contents

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION	xi
PREFACE	xiii
<i>Part One: A Point of View</i>	1
1. A Point of View	3
Some Basic Concepts	5
<i>Part Two: In the Beginning: From Birth to School</i>	23
2. Biological Bases for Development	25
Hereditary Factors	25
Prenatal Influences	31
Needs and Drives	34
Readiness for Experiences	36
3. The Family Setting	41
The Dual Role of the Family	41
The Family as an Interpersonal Field	43
4. The Emergence of "I"	63
The Organizing Processes at Work	63
The Identification Process	78
The Emergence of Self-Awareness	83

5. From "I" to the "Three R's"	88
Changes in Bodily Factors	88
The Expansion of "Meanings"	94
6. The Developing Self	111
Identifying	111
Self-Evaluating	116
Striving Toward Independence	117
Handling Feelings	118
 <i>Part Three: Emergence from Home</i>	
7. The Cultural Setting	125
The Impact of the Culture	125
The Effects on Children	134
8. "School Days, School Days"	143
The School as a Social Institution	143
Schools Have a Culture	148
9. The World of Peers	160
The Peer Society	160
Characteristics of a Peer Group	163
Developmental Changes	175
Functions of the Peer Group	176
10. The Years of Middle-Childhood	182
Changes in Bodily Factors	182
The Broadening of Horizons	187
The Developing Self	198

Part Four: Preadolescence	207
11. The Great Unknown	209
Changes in Bodily Factors	210
The Interpersonal World	214
12. Conceptual Development	227
Increased Understanding of the World	227
Value Concepts	235
13. The Continuing Search for Identity	242
Developing Sex-Role Identification	242
Developing Interests and Aspirations	245
Self-Conceptualizing	251
Part Five: Metamorphosis: A Transactional View of Adolescence	265
14. Coming of Age Physically	271
External Physical Changes	271
Physiological Changes	276
Body Image and the Self	280
Factors Affecting Body Image	281
15. The Changing World of the Early Adolescent	291
Parent-Child Relationships	291
The Junior High School: A New Way of Life	297
Society and the Early Adolescent	301
Peer Relationships	303
16. The Changing Self	314
Conceptual Development	314
The Self-Concept	324

x Contents

<i>Part Six: Becoming Adult</i>	337
17. The Late Adolescent Years	339
The Establishment of Physical Stability	339
The Interpersonal World of the Late Adolescent	341
18. Selfhood in Late Adolescence	363
Conceptual Development	363
The Self-Concept	373
A Final Word	384
INDEX	391

Editor's Introduction

For many years an emphatic and at times belligerent dispute prevailed concerning the relative effects of inheritance and environment on human intellectual ability. During the 1920s, debates on this issue were commonplace even in meetings of specialists in the field of human behavior, and especially among psychologists.

Little seemed to have been accomplished by those debates, nor had a rationale and literature developed which could enlighten teachers involved in the field of education. During the 1930s and 1940s, a dispute similar in intensity took place among the specialists in human behavior; this time the debates centered around problems of development and learning. While there were few definite conclusions, it must be recognized that the wide range of men studying human behavior, regardless of the focus of their study, have made notable contributions toward the goal of discovering how individuals behave.

Those who are not highly specialized students in the field of human behavior have found it difficult to see how human beings, especially children, can grow, develop, or learn in isolation. To the comparative layman, it would seem that growth, development, and learning are mutual concomitants of total change in a boy or girl, man or woman, and particularly evident among those who attend elementary and secondary schools, colleges and universities.

To the writer in this field, it is heartening to observe that a recent issue (Volume XXXI, No. 5, December, 1961) of *The Review of Educational Research*, published by the American Educational Research Association, carries the title "Growth, Development, and Learning." The chapter headings in this review are as follows: "Perceptual and Cognitive Development"; "Personality and Social Development":

Family and Peer Influences"; "Personality and Social Development: Societal Influences"; "Aging and Psychological Adjustment: Problem Solving and Motivation"; "Meaningful Learning and Retention: Intrapersonal Cognitive Variables"; "Meaningful Learning: Motivational, Personality, Interpersonal, and Social Variables"; Meaningful Learning and Retention: Task and Method Variables"; "Meaningful Learning and Retention: Practice and Reinforcement Variables."

The matters dealt with in this journal seem surely to reflect a broader point of view than that which has traditionally been observed among students of the phenomenon of change from infancy to adulthood. And this broader viewpoint emerges very clearly in *Human Development: From Birth Through Adolescence*.

The work presented here, as the author well states, considers in thorough fashion the development of a newborn infant into an adult. As the author indicates, *Human Development* attempts to combine an external approach and an internal approach to the study of the growth of human beings. In recent years, there has been an increasingly large number both of specialists in this field and of teachers, both of whom have expressed a desire for a treatment such as the one hereby presented. It seems clear that this volume is indeed timely, and that it will prove useful to those who are studying and aiding infants in their development into productive adults. Dr. Ira J. Gordon's extensive research and teaching makes him unusually well qualified to attack the difficult tasks of recognizing and synthesizing the various aspects of human development.

JOHN GUY FOWLKES

Preface

In recent years much research and theorizing have emerged concerning the self as an appropriate focus for the study of human development. Knowledge about the self is sufficient at present to generate a large amount of research and to indicate principles that have practical significance for workers in education and psychology. Further, the self, or self-psychology, as an organizing center, offers the possibility of unifying heretofore separate facts and theories from developmental psychology, behavior theory, and individual behavior.

Sears and his associates are developing significant relationships between general behavior theory and child development. The psychoanalytic movement also presents a theory of development. The self-theories represent what Maslow has labeled a "third force" between behaviorism and psychoanalysis. A main purpose of this book is to present theoretical and other information which treats the significant relationships among human development in general, general behavior, and the development of the self in each individual. Ideas implying relationships, including those of cause and effect, will be discussed. Therefore, research findings and opinions drawn from all three fields and other related areas are included.

When dealing with ideas from a variety of sources, one must define terms carefully and also clarify the present status of the field. This presents some problems, in that various writers use different terms to indicate the same or similar phenomena. For example, such terms as individual, perceptual, phenomenological, organismic, and holistic-dynamic are used to designate the branch of psychology which deals with scientific study of the development of the self.

Self-psychology's American forerunners include William James,

W. McDougall, and G. H. Mead. This branch of psychology also has roots in the work of Kurt Lewin. It is currently represented in America by Gordon Allport, Hadley Cantril, Arthur Combs, A. H. Maslow, Gardner Murphy, Carl Rogers, Donald Snygg, and others. T. Landsman has charted its history.

There is need for a *rapprochement* between self-psychology and general behavior theory. As we learn more, each theory will probably give way to a more abstract viewpoint which will incorporate the findings of both. Meanwhile, self-psychology offers many fruitful hypotheses but is somewhat lacking in rigor; general behavior research can supply the rigor and also suggest methodology for testing the hypotheses. Although written from a self viewpoint, the text will attempt to use the strengths of both.

The author describes and sets forth hypotheses about the development of self from birth through adolescence. The book's virtues lie in a unifying theoretical position, its faults belong to the author.

Acknowledgments

No book is the product of a single person. Although only one author's name may appear, he is indebted to numerous others for their contributions. First, I am indebted to the many researchers and theorists whom I have quoted throughout the book. Each one gave either information or a new concept, without which my attempts would have been futile. The index of names, in effect, forms part of this acknowledgment.

I am also indebted to colleagues and friends who read portions of the manuscript and offered constructive help. These are: Melvin C. Baker, Robert Glen, Arthur W. Combs, Robert Curran, Charles Fritz, Ted Landsman, and Samuel P. Martin. To John Guy Fowlkes goes a special thanks, not only for his excellent editorial help but also for his faith and support. My thanks go to Mrs. Antoinette Sanda and Mrs. Margaret Quinn who performed the typing chores.

This book would not have been attempted, and certainly not carried to completion, without the special kind of help rendered by my family. In grateful acknowledgment of the support, patience, and understanding of my wife, Esther, and of the interest of Gary and Bonnie, this book is affectionately dedicated.

IRA J. GORDON

Gainesville, Florida
January, 1962



Part One

A Point of View

A Point of View

In this book we will consider how the newborn infant develops into an adult. It is a story of change, continuous change. The focus is the individual, and the ways in which he relates to his various environments as he grows.

There are, generally speaking, two possible ways to study the development of the human being. One approach is to try to see him always as a whole and to look at him at various stages in his development. This has the advantage of maintaining his integrity. Its disadvantage is that we tend to think of his age as the most important factor and talk as though all children of a given age are alike. We deal with sixes and sevens, rather than with live, whole children.

The other approach is to look at specific processes or areas of development, such as physical growth, social development, and mental growth. The advantage here is that we can learn a great deal about these particular aspects of development through studying them piecemeal. A disadvantage is that we have the child so fragmentized that we can't put him back together again.

Since all behavior, and all development, is a continuous process of transactions between the biological organism and its social and physical environment, we will attempt in this book to study the whole developing child, while also examining the external pressures being brought to bear upon him at particular moments in his life.

A consistent effort will be made to see the child's over-all development in relation to both his society and his own physiological de-

velopment. The point of view of the book is that the development of self is a transactional process between the developing organism and its changing social environment. Any study which does not look at both elements presents a somewhat distorted picture of the child. In effect, then, we will attempt to combine an "external" approach of looking at the child's home, his peer group, his school, and his society, with an "internal" approach of looking at how he perceives these various situational forces, and how he perceives his own body and his own growth.

The central theme and theoretical position of this book is that the child creates for himself a world of meanings from his experiences with his own body and his social milieu. One of the systems of meanings is the self-system. It is insufficient to know just the "external" variables or the constitutional variables to understand behavior and development. One needs an additional construct, such as "self," to see how these are organized and utilized by the individual. Theorists interested in the personal world of the individual have used such terms as "private world" (Frank), "phenomenal field" (Combs and Snygg), and "life space" (Lewin) to describe what occurs in the individual's organization of his experience. We will use the constructs of "self-processes" and "self-system" as our organizing concepts.

The book is based upon a wide range of research, with emphasis on presenting data with interpretation rather than just collections of isolated findings. This poses certain difficulties, to be sure, but it should be done. Research data are open to various explanations, depending upon one's theoretical position. The interpretations in this book will be, of course, from the author's point of view. There is the danger of distorting the research worker's original intent, or interpreting his findings in a way he would not accept. In order to decrease the risk of the perceptual bias of the author, the reader is urged to read the originals as much as possible. It is not feasible in this book to describe the research in detail.

There will also be many statements of hypotheses, both operationally defined and in more primitive literary form. The state of the theory in the field is such that many hypotheses are as yet untested. One of the functions of this book is to point up the need for research. Sometimes in human development and behavior we have facts without a theory. We may also have theory before sufficient

facts have been gathered. In this book we will attempt to organize the facts within the theory, and also use the theory to highlight research needs.

In order to focus on the child, certain broad concepts about human development and behavior are essential. We need to understand the nature of individual development as reflected in the following ideas, which serve as the theoretical framework for the book.

1. Development is a process.
2. The individual is a functioning whole.
3. The individual is an "open-energy system."
4. Development and organization are synonymous.
5. The individual is unique.
6. The individual develops a self-system.

Some Basic Concepts

Development as a Process

When we look at the developing child, it is easy for us to see the continuous activity, but it is not always possible to see this activity as having direction toward maturity. We sometimes think in static terms and take our measurements at a particular point, as though what we see at that point were going to stay the same. We often think of stages of development as though there were sharp demarcation lines between them, rather than seeing development as gradual, with almost imperceptible movement from stage to stage. Birthdays are an example. We gear our expectations to dates—when a child is 5, he should be "acting like a 5-year-old," even though he was 4 only yesterday. When he reaches 21, he's ready to vote, as if this date possessed magical power.

Development, like any process, is influenced by what has gone before. It is not, however, simply a process of adding on, such as increase in height and weight or mental age. It is a process of change, in which the child develops by absorbing everything that is happening to him, combining it with what is there, and mixing these well with the changes which are occurring to his body. What emerges is a new organization, a new creation from the blending of these ingredients.

Development, then, is the entire series of anatomic, physiological, and psychological changes—thus combining growth, maturation, and

6 Human Development

learning. Both increase in size and increase in complexity are developmental processes. Although the increase in size stops, increase in complexity and organization of the person continues throughout his life.

The Individual as a Functioning Whole

In the process of developing, different parts and tissue systems of the body grow at different rates of speed; some tissue systems finish their growth ahead of others. Yet these tissue systems are all interrelated in such a fashion that they work as an integrated team.

Therefore, the behaving child must be perceived as he acts—as a whole. Just as in everyday experience the functioning whole is greater than the sum of its separate parts, in human development the developing person is more than the sum of his parts. What is this "more than"? It is the arrangement or order or organization of these various parts into a going system. This organization is not static; the person is always in the process of organizing, a process which stops only at death.

Let's look at one example of this organizing process, *the interrelatedness of structure and function*. These are not two discrete "entities" in which structure determines function. We will discover in this book that what the child has experienced helps determine the further development of the child's bodily structure, so that sometimes experience influences structure. For example, girls in certain cultures mature later than in others; children in Samoa can handle their bodies differently from children in New Haven; an American learning French as an adult can't quite make it sound the same as the Parisian.

Not only is this reciprocal relationship so in bodily terms, but it is true in psychological and cultural terms as well. The person's structure or organization might be defined as the developed and organized processes at any given moment. This means that what *will be* developed is a function of the mutual interaction of what is already there and experience. To some degree, internal and external are one and inseparable, both uniting the body system, both becoming organized into a single system that determines behavior and development. "As a child grows older he develops new biological potentialities; and some of these he is able to realize in acquir-

ing new and more effective ways of dealing with the environment and himself. Without increasing biological maturity, a child would not develop the equipment necessary for learning more and more mature techniques. And without progressive learning, he could not make use of his increasing biological competence" (Cameron and Magaret, 1951, p. 131).

Projecting the individual in this way resolves the *heredity-environment* conflict. Viewed from our organismic position, there can be no dichotomy between the two. At a given moment, a person's behavior is a product of all his heredity and all his environment wedded within a single organization. Just as the grass is influenced not only by the seed we plant but also by soil conditions, shade, rainfall, insects, and the like, so the growing child is a product not only of his genetic inheritance but also of all that he has experienced from the moment of conception.

A child is not solely a product of his culture, born blank and reflecting only what his society teaches. Also, he is not purely a product of his genetic inheritance, because what he inherits are only certain potentialities. We will see, in Chapter 2, some of the specific contributions heredity makes in the total scheme. All of us are distinct and unique individuals who make our own complex of arrangements from the factors which contribute to our self-development.

Similarly, any attempt to split the individual along the lines of a *mind-body* dichotomy is equally false. All tissue systems of the body work with each other, are influenced by each other, and are mutually supportive. We cannot extract the child's "mind" and treat it as an entity removed from his body; the modern physician does not treat even an appendix without recognizing it is a part of a whole person.

One example of the child as a whole is the area of intelligence. People formerly assumed it to be an isolable trait, fixed by inheritance, and consistently measurable. But it is not so simple as that. Intelligence is a form of behavior and, like all behavior and development, reflects the total organization of the person.

LIFE PROCESS AS AN ORDERING, ORGANIZING PROCESS. Life can be maintained only as long as the body organizes and integrates its world into an orderly arrangement. This organizing is a basic

activity of the growing person. He needs to do this; he must do this for survival. This arranging of one's world is not only an internal physiological process but also a psychological process—"making sense" of one's environment. The child, as he grows, needs to feel that there is a constancy about his world. If he does not find it, he invents it.

The individual is always active; he acts in such a way that he orders himself and his environment. Order and predictability are essential to him and form a basic part of his feelings of security. This need for order means that a person in any given situation will choose that behavior which, from where he stands, preserves and increases his already ordered world. The direction of his behavior is always, in normal development, toward increased complexity. For all of us, behavior is functional and serves to maintain order and organization. As one physiological psychologist stated it: "We are justified in taking this egocentric view, which states in effect that man conceives his world; for in the interests of preserving internal constancies, the exteroffective system¹ develops and maintains optimal external constancies. By means of overt reaction to specific external stimuli, the human organism stabilizes and betters its surroundings, eliminates potential dangers . . ." (Freeman, 1948, p. 146).

The complexity of the individual's organization is a function of time for growth, experience, and biological determinants that give the person both his common human inheritance plus his particularly unique characteristics. We will see, from Chapter 4 on, how the infant begins this process, and how it is then carried on by the growing person.

The Open-Energy System

All living organisms can be defined as open-energy systems. The openness of a system depends upon the amount of interchange between it and what is outside it. An open system means that the person is continually being influenced by and is influencing his environment.

The person is thus greatly affected by his environment and cannot be considered or understood apart from it. We cannot look at the person in isolation; we cannot understand the individual apart from

¹ The system in touch with the world outside the skin.

the culture which has influenced, and is continuing to influence, him.

THE STEADY-STATE. There are several characteristics of such an open-energy system as the organism, one of which is that it maintains a "steady-state." That is, it attempts to maintain itself and to balance the forces within itself. This is not synonymous with the concept of homeostasis (Cannon, 1939), in which there is self-regulation in order to maintain an optimal state of constancy in the internal tissues. Homeostatic processes have been seen as responses to the environment, psychologically as well as physiologically. Such a concept places the instigation of behavior "outside" the organism. The "steady-state" concept postulates the organism as actor rather than merely responder. An open-energy system, such as the organism, is constantly and continuously active; indeed, that is its outstanding characteristic.

Activity and Development

The activity of the growing child is essentially unidirectional. He does not go back to a previous balance, but forward toward a new "steady-state." The organism develops beyond its original state, becoming more complex and differentiated. While, at a given moment, the individual is acting to maintain this steady-state, the cumulative effect is development. The organism, then, is constantly "becoming." While the child's surroundings become more complex, he is also developing a more complex organization which enables him to cope with it. The child develops as he attempts to organize himself and the environment into some meaningful constancy. Because this is an open system, the nature of the forces in the whole transactional field (organism-environment) will determine the rate and direction of growth and development of the system.

An example of the impact of cultural forces upon this development is that "there is evidence that growth and rate of development in the present generation of North American infants has significantly advanced over the norms established on the Gesell, Cattell, or Viennese infant development scale" (Jackson, 1956, pp. 87-88). For example, a significantly higher percentage of one-year-olds who were products of the Yale Rooming-in Project were walking than those reported in earlier studies. In this 1952 report, 61 percent

were able to walk, compared to 44 percent in 1940 and 26 percent in Gesell's 1938 study (Jackson, 1956, pp. 87-88). Rooming-in, in which the infant stays with the mother rather than in the hospital nursery, allows for more flexible feeding, more mother-infant relationships—a different beginning environment for the child. This changed environment, coupled with changes in prenatal care and nutrition, may account for the earlier walking. The nature of the experiences of the child, when viewed in this light, assumes great significance as a potent force in influencing his development not only psychologically but also physically. We see again that we cannot separate mind and body, structure and function. They are inextricably interwoven in the system.

Development as Organization

DEVELOPMENT REDEFINED. We can now define individual development as the processes by which a person, from the moment of birth on, progresses toward self-actualization, fulfillment, completeness, or, to use the term we have been dealing with throughout, maximum organization and integration. Development, as we have said, is directional. As a way of maintaining organization in a fluid environment, the organism reaches out into it, incorporates it both physically and psychologically, and develops. In moving toward this maximum organization, human beings order their world in terms of *meanings*. "Man is constantly making his environment more 'human' by extending his understanding of the significance of events or happenings" (Cantril, 1954, p. 8). The process of development includes the process of assigning meanings. Man hunts for significance, for meaning in his world. He arranges his world in terms of meaningfulness.

In the first two decades of life many internal changes are occurring, and certain of these changes significantly alter the bodily make-up of the child; he is, therefore, constantly organizing himself. "It seems reasonable to assume that as long as there is growth or developmental change in an organism there will continue to be change in organization" (Bayley, 1956, p. 46). As aspects of his body change, his system of meanings must change to incorporate what he is now becoming.

For example, the development of the child can be studied from the observer's viewpoint by gathering data about those aspects of development that are measurable or observable physically, such as

height, weight, coordination, energy expenditure, and the appearance of secondary sex characteristics. This development can also be seen in another way—in terms of how the person himself continuously organizes and reorganizes his world. The theoretical position we take is that, in order to understand behavior, it becomes necessary not only to observe that the child has reached his preadolescent growth spurt, but also to observe, and to infer from his behavior, the *meaning* this has to the child—to discover as best we can what he is experiencing.

DIFFERENTIATING-INTEGRATING AS A DEVELOPMENTAL PROCESS. In the course of this book we will be looking at the activities of the child as he searches for meanings in his environment. A major process in this search is differentiating-integrating. This process occurs at the biological level as the child matures. From the moment of conception on, cells increase in number and tissue systems with specialized functions emerge. These cells undergo a process of differentiation; they become cells with special functions, such as nerve cells, muscle cells, and the like. One group of cells, neurons, have as their special function the establishment and maintenance of communication lines among the various subsystems within the organism. These lines of communication provide a means for integrating all the activities of the organism. Any part of the total system can serve as an instigator of behavior, but the system, because of these nerve pathways, acts as a whole.

This process occurs also in a psychological sense. As the child has experiences, he begins to sort them out and categorize them. The initial categorizations, of course, are highly primitive because of the state of biological development. These may be simply "pleasant or comfortable" or "unpleasant or uncomfortable." Later, he differentiates "me" and "not me," "living" and "nonliving," "mother" and "not mother." With development, these categories, or differentiated parts of his experience, become more complex and abstract. At the same time that the child is categorizing, he is incorporating these categories into his organization. He arranges and assembles them into some sort of configuration, so that they "make sense" and become constant enough for him to count on when he needs to deal with them again. This is the integrating activity. The child, as he develops, is breaking up his environment and his experiences with

himself into pieces that possess constancy for him, and then reassembling and reorganizing these pieces into a new whole which he perceives as his self and his world. In Chapter 4 we will explore in more detail how this begins.

Differentiating and integrating are not, and cannot be, purely intellectual processes. We have said that any mind-body dichotomy does not exist. This means that the process of assigning meanings to one's experience includes affect, or emotion. There is no behavior or experience without affect. The positive or negative emotional loading influences the meaning of an experience to the child. This first rough differentiation of comfort-discomfort is heavily affect-laden. "Me" and "not me," "mother" and "not mother," and all such differentiations carry with them evaluative feelings of comfort and discomfort, tension increase or decrease.

Emotion, then, is a part of the organizing processes of the growing child. It is not something to be avoided (as if we *could* do so!) but is an essential, basic part of experiencing. Emotions serve a definite purpose in the striving of the individual toward self-realization. When we discuss, in later chapters, the emotional life of the child, we will need constantly to remember that these emotions are an integral aspect of development. It is not sufficient to say that 5-year-olds fear ghosts. We must be able to see how the fear of ghosts serves a purpose in the self-organization of the child. He does not fear ghosts because he is 5; the dynamics are much more complex than that.

ORGANIZING AND DEVELOPING. Organizing and developing are, therefore, virtually synonymous terms. The growing child is continuously organizing his world, both within and without the skin. No part of this organization operates in isolation from other parts, or in opposition to other parts. The total organization always acts as a unit. It reaches out for experience because experience is just as much food for development as are cereal and milk. Development is more than increment; it is the organization of bodily changes and experience into the single unity we call the individual.

ORDERLY DEVELOPMENT. This developing process, this organizing and reorganizing process, is an orderly one. We know clearly that certain stages of organization or structure precede others, that certain behaviors come into existence based upon previous behaviors.

Development, particularly in its physical aspects, follows a general pattern. Children growing up within a culture share many experiences in common because they are at roughly the same stage of physical development. Although we are concerned primarily with the individual, we cannot consider him completely unique. He follows the general laws for his "class of objects"—in this case, humanity.

In order to understand the child in particular, we must comprehend the general developmental laws that govern all of us. Conversely, knowing the general laws will not help us unless we can also find the way these are at work in the individual. Thus, we know that sooner or later all normal children reach puberty. However, one can be normal and reach puberty at 13 or 18. What a difference this will make in his own individual development! Thus, we are faced with a basic law in human development, that "no two people are alike."

The Uniqueness of the Individual

To the person beginning in the field of human development, the concept of uniqueness may be disturbing. Although he grants the truth that each person is different, he views it as presenting a chaotic world in which uniqueness means unpredictability from person to person. He knows that people are different, yet he wishes they were less so! It would be so nice if he could standardize them, like so many other objects in our environment. He has this need for "order." If he could reorganize his thinking to see this concept of individuality as lawful rather than chaotic, he may learn to see it as the most promising idea for the future rather than as a fact he'd like to eliminate.

Individuality in development is the rule. Norms may tell us something about what might be expected, but longitudinal research studies have clearly shown that an individual, as he develops, moves at his own pace and does not maintain a steady position in relation to the norm. One of the most comprehensive longitudinal studies that has been done is the California Growth Study. As a result of 25 years of following the same group of individuals, a senior researcher reported: "We have become increasingly aware that the growth of individuals is often unstable. In a given character, such as height, or intelligence, a child may, over a period of years, shift from high to

average, to low and back to average again, as compared to his age peers. The very frequency of these shifts leads us to assume that, for the most part, they are normal and healthy patterns of growth . . . we find that individual patterns are the rule" (Bayley, 1956, p. 45).

Three major influences in the creation of, and the maintenance of, this individuality are the genetic origins, the cultural experiences, and the perceptual processes of the child.

BIOCHEMICAL ORIGIN OF UNIQUENESS. Uniqueness begins for the individual child at the moment of conception. When the genetic dice are cast, the odds against repeating the same combination of chromosomes are tremendous. This genetic difference is compounded by experiences, both intra- and extrauterine. As Murphy (1947, p. 31) states: "Every individual is an almost infinitely complex pattern of biochemical tendencies. . . . Biochemical individuality is recognizable even in the embryo and clearly in the newborn; and upon this early individuality are impressed still further individualities due to the vicissitudes of the individual life process."

The evidence is all around us that this is so. We use fingerprints to establish identity. Manufacturers of fountain pens, shampoos, and electric shavers build their sales appeals around the allowances their products make for individual differences in hands, hair, and skin. We can visit a hospital nursery and see wide differences in activity rate and movement, as well as in size, among the newborn.

Genetic composition establishes the first difference among people; intrauterine life builds on this. At the time of birth, each child is already unique.

ROLE OF CULTURAL EXPERIENCES. Uniqueness is not only rooted in the biochemical composition of the individual, but also is fostered by the nature of his cultural experience. When the child is born, he comes into contact with an already on-going social environment which immediately begins to shape his development. For example, two children born into the same family experience different environments. Let us suppose the first-born is a boy, and the second-born, two years later, a girl. She has an older brother; he has none. Her parents are two years older and, if not wiser, at least less energetic and less tense about her care and feeding than they were about her

brother's. In addition, the values, standards, and secret hopes they hold for her are different from those held for him. Cultural role expectations—boys play cowboys, girls play with dolls—present images and create situations so that each child experiences something somewhat different from the other. In Chapter 3 will be presented a more detailed picture of the role of the family setting in self-development.

In addition to family experiences, the child participates in the life of the neighborhood, the school, and the community at large. Each of these, in turn, presents images for him to model himself upon and teach him what it is he should be. Children growing up in different cultural surroundings experience as reality only that to which they are exposed; their concepts, then, of self and of world are strongly influenced by their cultures and add to their uniqueness. Chapters 7, 8, and 9 will elaborate upon the influence of both the general culture and the peer culture.

ROLE OF PERCEPTUAL PROCESSES. Perceiving is "the process by which a particular person, from his particular behavioral center, attributes significances to his immediate environmental situation" (Ittelson and Cantril, 1954, p. 26). This process of attributing significance, or meaning, we have already encountered in our discussion of differentiating-integrating. We give immediate meanings to things on the basis of our previous experience with them, our needs at the moment, and our present level of organization or development.

To some degree, perceptions of what is present in the environment are functions of the need to organize. Seeing certain parts of the environment as structured appears to be due to the innate organizing processes of the human organism. An example of this in visual perception is the differentiation between a triangle and a circle. This is evidently not something that is learned. Perception, in this narrow sense, is the ability to differentiate between two forms. This definition does not include the assignment of significance. But perceiving is more than seeing. It is the organizing of what is seen, felt, and sensed into a meaningful arrangement related to the already organized system which is the individual.

Since the individual is unique biochemically, has unique experiences in his culture, and is an open-energy system which has constant transactions between these two, his perceptions must, therefore, be

unique. In a certain sense, no two people—since they are unique—can ever experience the same thing. They will perceive, i.e., assign meanings to, the “common” situations which are personal and private.

When the individual finds himself in a situation which would present information to him contrary to his present on-going organization, he perceives it in ways which enable him to maintain himself. The two major ways are through denial and distortion. A whole battery of defense devices can be subsumed under these two headings. We are all familiar with the sour-grapes type of rationalization, the shifting of blame to another, the “forgetting” of assignments, and the daydreaming in which the world is reorganized with the person at the center of a delightful universe.

Throughout the book we will be concerned, therefore, with what the child and adolescent perceives to be the nature of himself and his world. He behaves in accordance with his view of the world. We are not implying any philosophical or metaphysical argument about whether or not there is a real world. We are assuming the existence of the world outside the growing child, and, in fact, we plan to spend several chapters on it. The issue here is that, from our psychological position, there is no reality for the child except that which he creates as a result of the constant transaction between his organism and his environment. The world for him is as he experiences it.

The Common Aspects of Man

When we go for a walk in the woods, we see many kinds of trees, grasses, and weeds. If we were to examine each tree apart from all the others, we would recognize clearly that no two trees are alike. The differences to the layman are not important—they are all trees. To the forester or the lumberman, these differences *are* important. So it is when we deal with people. If we were removed from the human race, the differences among people would be less vital to us, and the common elements would be more obvious.

Human beings, even though they differ, are still human and possess many common characteristics. There is a “human nature” which we all share. It is not composed of common attitudes, beliefs, and the behavior patterns to which the traditionalist refers when he says, “You can’t change human nature.” Rather, it is the ability to learn, the flexibility of development, the ability to choose, the ability to use language, the need for activity, love and belonging, predictability,

esteem, fulfillment,² and contact and new experience with one's environment that men share in common. Men share the need to see meaning in their world as a common aspect of humanity (Cantril, 1954; Murphy, 1958). We share, also, the urge to explore, to create, to initiate. Man must, for survival and sanity, constantly be in a stimulating relationship with his environment. Man has a "taste for excitement" (Hebb, 1955, p. 250).

Motivation is an internal process, a function of being human. Although the behaviors which exemplify these common attributes are tremendously diversified, the common aspects are there. These provide the driving force for behavior.

Uniqueness of the expression of humanness does not imply that there are not these over-all common forces. Commonality and uniqueness are not mutually exclusive terms. All men resemble each other more than any man resembles another species. Yet, within the species, there are great ranges of individual differences.

Let us look at some other things that all men share. All men live in societies, and these societies provide for their members various experiences which are essentially common. Although one child's perception of the experience may be slightly different from that of another, all children have experienced "mothering" or infant-care of a sort. People within a given society more or less care for their children in a similar way, have similar demands, and enforce similar restraints.

Since man is verbal, people within a given society use the words of their language to communicate. Of course, words are subject to misinterpretation and to varieties of connotation; nevertheless, language systems provide for the sharing of experiences.

That man is a species implies that there are biological characteristics which differentiate man from other animals. We have mentioned some of these in the above list of needs, drives, and abilities. It might be safe to say that, at the moment of birth, two children anywhere in the world are more alike than they are different. Although they will go through about the same pattern of physical development and maturation, the culture will in many ways modify what is done as a part of this developing, and will play a vital role in determining the meanings which the child will assign to his development. Nevertheless, although the "culture can alter, mold or

² For a fuller discussion of needs, see Maslow (1954).

reorganize drives—or rather, it can permit them one form of development or expression rather than another—it can hardly ‘create’ them out of nothing” (Murphy, 1947, p. 128).

Man’s individual development may be seen as the emerging of uniqueness from the transactions between (1) a person’s organism, which possesses needs, drives, abilities, and tissue systems in common with all men, but in an arrangement and organization which is his alone, and (2) a cultural-physical environment which he shares in large measure with other members of his society, but which also has personal interpretations and meanings for him alone.

The study of individual development requires, therefore, that we look at the processes of this transaction, seeing always both those aspects which are environmental and those which form a part of an individual’s “private world.”

The Individual’s Development of a Self-System

One way of seeing and labeling the organizing processes of the individual, by which he attempts to structure himself and his world, is by using the concept of “self.” This permits us to use a single term to discuss both the consistency of the individual’s organization and its forward movement.

Self-processes are here defined as the series of interrelated processes by which the individual organizes himself. We have mentioned the differentiating-integrating processes, including affect as an essential part, and the perceptual processes. These are the two major self-processes. The self-system emerges as a result of their operation.

SELF-SYSTEM. The self-system is the individual’s organized experience—both with himself and his world. It includes all that is organized at any given moment. It becomes possible, then, to pull together under this one term all our earlier discussions of organization and reorganization, open-energy systems and uniqueness-commonality. The organization of the developing person at any single moment in time is his self-system. It includes not only all the internal biological tissue activities but also those phases of the environment which the person has incorporated.

This self-system attempts to maintain a steady-state, has direction toward increased complexity, possesses some degree of internal consistency, and is in continuous transaction with the environment.

While, from moment to moment, its atomistic ingredients ~~along~~—cells die and are replaced, behaviors, too, die and are replaced—the system goes on, and has a recognizable identity.

SELF-CONCEPT. Not all parts of the system are equally differentiated and integrated. Some aspects are more clearly defined than others. Although it is the total system which governs the behavior of the person—and this total system is never to be considered in isolation from its situation—some parts seem to exercise a higher degree of influence upon the perceptual and interpretational processes and upon the choice of situations (as much as the individual can influence this) in which the person will place himself.

"Those perceptions about self which seem most vital and important to the individual himself . . . that they seem to the individual to be 'he' in all times and all places" (Combs and Snygg, 1959, p. 127), are his self-concept. These are the highly differentiated, integral, fairly persistent aspects of one's self. They are, of course, not necessarily clear in the awareness of the person. The existence of a person's self-concept, and the nature of it, cannot be seen directly. "We infer the existence from the organized, purposive, functional behavior of the individual—the language he uses, the roles he takes, the ways of problem-solving he utilizes, the ways of expressing and handling feelings he displays, etc." (Gordon, 1956, p. 168).

The self-concept as Combs and Snygg define it is essentially synonymous with "self" as defined by Murphy (1947, p. 996), who calls it "the individual as known by the individual."

The child is not born with self-concepts, or a self-system, although self-processes such as differentiating-integrating are present. The self-system, particularly the self-concept, develops from the experiences of the maturing child.

THE SELF-SYSTEM AND BEHAVIOR. One characteristic of any system is the maintenance of its identity. The recognizable identity of the individual, in terms of the patterns of his behavior, is a function of the self-system and, to a great degree, that part of the system we have labeled self-concept.

By analogy, today's members of the First Division still wear the *fourragère* awarded the division by the French in World War I. It would be a safe guess that nobody in the present division was there at the time, but the identity of the "Big Red One" is continuous. To

the individual GI, membership in the First Division becomes a part of his central organization and outlook upon the world. Conversely, he becomes a part of the ongoing organization which is the division. Although we cannot predict the behavior of an individual soldier, we might safely predict that the unit as a whole would maintain its organization and its tradition in battle. We might predict the future performance of the organization by knowing its present identity—its present self-system, and its concept of itself as visually displayed on the shoulders of its members.

Behavior can be understood as the activity of the self-system as it attempts to enhance or develop itself. Behavior is functional; it serves to preserve the "steady-state" of the self-system.

Each person in our culture develops his self-system out of his own needs for maintenance of organization and further development. The developmental processes are governed by the constant interaction of maturational and interpersonal forces. The individual differentiates out a part of the self-system which he perceives as "him." This self-concept, which actually consists of several concepts of self, is unique and personal. A person's behavior is greatly influenced by his self-concept, and he develops and behaves to maintain this, just as, at an earlier level of development, he attempted to enhance and maintain his body. Throughout this book, we shall discuss the emergence and development of the self-system.

SELF-SYSTEM AND DEVELOPMENT. Since this self-system is a function of organism-environment transaction, the self a person develops is his real self. There can be no concept of what he "might have been" if things had been different, and no concept of a "real" self which would emerge if only the environment were passive or laissez-faire. Although future experiences may modify the self-system, this self is not a mystical thing with which a person was born, and which just has to be left to unfold.

A person's self-system is continuously developing toward the goal of enhancing itself. The self continues to develop along the lines of previous development. The child's present self-system has within it the seeds of future behavior in the complete integration of biological processes with psychological aspects such as goals, aspirations, self-concept, values, and attitudes. Future development is determined also by what future experiences the child will have.

Conclusion

In reading about development, we must realize that individuality is the rule, and that there is no simple approach to understanding behavior. Those who wish to know about a child must have knowledge not only about children in general but also about the particular child. With this in mind, we can see that it is meaningless to say "all adolescents feel . . ." or "all children growing up in cities. . . ." or "only children are. . . ." We need to recognize that a unique organization of forces is at play in every child. Knowledge of forces and developmental processes aids us to a great degree, but it must always be tailored to fit the youngster.

The remainder of this book will present a more detailed account of the above six concepts in action in the development of the child into the adult. We shall, even while examining the environmental forces at play, keep our focus on the individual as he interacts with his environment. As we increase our understanding of development and behavior, we shall be in a better position to create the kinds of experiences which enable others to develop their potentialities.

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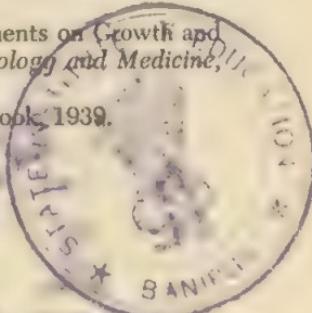
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22 *Human Development*

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Part Two

In the Beginning:
From Birth to School

Biological Bases for Development

In order to examine the organism-environment field in which the self develops, we shall study each aspect somewhat separately and then attempt to synthesize. In this chapter, the organism is the focus of attention. It is this basic biochemical organization from which all behavior and development stem.

Hereditary Factors

Physical Appearance

Many an anxious expectant parent asks, "What will my child be like? What will he look like?" Just after birth, when the proud parents and the relatives flock to view the new arrival, the first comments usually include, "He looks just like his Uncle John" (who is also as bald as the baby); or a dissection process takes place in which his eyes are his mother's, his nose his father's, his ears his grandpa's on his father's side, and so on. Everybody gets into the act of comparing the child to all the branches on the family tree.

How much of this is based soundly on scientific research rather than folklore and myth? Just what does the child have as a part of his make-up that comes to him through the genes of his parents?

It is generally accepted by geneticists that physical characteristics, such as hair color and shape, eye color, skin shade, blood type, and the like, are genetically determined. Without a discussion of the mechanism of genetics, we can safely state that although these characteristics are governed by the genes of the parents, the actual ap-

pearance of the child will not be a mirror image of one parent or even a composite picture of the two. Parents carry and pass on to their children genes which in their own appearance took "second place" or were recessive genes. Thus a brown-eyed set of parents may each have possessed a gene for blue eyes which did not operate. Since at conception only half the father's genes unite with half the mother's, the blue-eyed gene of each may unite to produce a blue-eyed baby. It doesn't take an outsider to give the baby a different appearance from his father—merely a recessive gene from each parent will do the trick.

Current genetic research and theory support the notion that one gene controls one enzyme. Even with the one-gene—one-enzyme concept, the notion that a single gene governs a single physical characteristic does not appear to be correct except in minor instances. For example, there is no single gene for skin color; rather, several genes acting in concert determine the child's pigmentation.

In all genetic factors, then, we need to remember that what will be passed on is a gamble, a matter of odds or probabilities. Although physical appearance characteristics are definitely inherited, just what the individual child will look like is largely a matter of chance within the genetic possibilities represented in the total familial background of both parents. Moreover, even these physical characteristics, as static as they may seem, are influenced to some degree by environmental forces such as diet and geographical region.

Disease Tendencies

Although it is true that certain ailments run in families, what seems to be inherited is a predisposition to disease, provided the precipitating environmental conditions are right. Susceptibility to diseases is on a sliding scale—from those which are most related to genetic factors to those which are most related to environmental pressures (see Table 2.1). "A person's whole genetic make-up—and not merely a specific gene combination—is important in relation to almost every disease" (Scheinfeld, 1950, p. 154). We see here a further demonstration of the self as a system, a dynamic whole, rather than as a mere collection of isolated parts.

It is interesting to note that the male is born inherently weaker, in terms of disease susceptibility, than the female. We can note in Table 2.1 that color blindness and hemophilia are essentially male disabili-

TABLE 2.1**Role of Inheritance in Cause of Disease**

Direct Relationship (Largely Genetic)	Indirect Relationship (Related to Presence of Certain Adverse Circumstances)
Diabetes	Allergy
Hemophilia ^a	Some other forms of heart and arterial diseases
Color blindness ^a	
Some heart and arterial diseases	
Some mental deficiency	
Congenital deafness (in % of cases)	

^a Transmitted through female, manifested by male.

SOURCE: Data essentially from *The New You and Heredity*, A. Scheinfeld, 1950, Lippincott. Used by permission.

ties. Baldness, too, although not a disease and not even necessarily a handicap (if we look at the success of Yul Brynner in the American theater and movies), is essentially a male characteristic. On the whole, perhaps because of the mechanism that determines sex (the presence in the female of an extra chromosome), the female of the species is stronger and healthier.

What about mental disease? There was a song in the 1930s called "The Music Goes Round and Round." The talk in the 1950s about heredity and psychosis resembled this. The arguments and research go 'round and 'round and so far are inconclusive. We do know that "no common type of insanity is known to be inherited so simply and directly through dominant genes" (Scheinfeld, 1950, p. 222). The argument continues to rage about the general predisposition of a person for a psychosis through the effect of genes on the body chemistry and the neural system. Where in Table 2.1 should this go, or does it belong at all?

If we remember our brief discussion in the first chapter about heredity-environment, we may state that *any* disease experience, "physical" or "mental," happens to the whole person and is influenced by both the genetic make-up of the person and the nature of his life experiences. A triangular model, developed by Samuel Martin¹

¹ Head Professor of Medicine, College of Medicine, University of Florida.

(Fig. 2.1), depicts the etiology of disease and demonstrates the interplay of genetic and situational forces (both physical and sociopsychological). Such a model can be used to illustrate the etiology of any disease. According to Martin, diseases can be projected on this triangle which vary from pure genetic disorders, such as phenylketonuria, to more complex diseases, such as tuberculosis. In phenylketonuria there is an enzyme defect which is genetic in origin, but even this is influenced by external factors, such as the amount of a particular amino acid in the diet. In tuberculosis, however, the bacillus must act in concert with a series of factors to produce disease. Only one in a thousand persons infected develop progressive disease. This seems to be influenced by psychological factors; social factors; physical factors, such as inhaled silica; and genetic factors, such as family or racial background.

Since we are concerned with helping people develop fully, the recognition that a person is not doomed to suffer a common mental illness unless his life situation shares heavily with any genetic factor in its creation gives us the challenge and the hope for prevention.

Further, there are biochemical environmental controls which aid in the treatment of genetic defects. In cases where a specific enzyme cannot be made by the body, it is possible to supply therapeutically

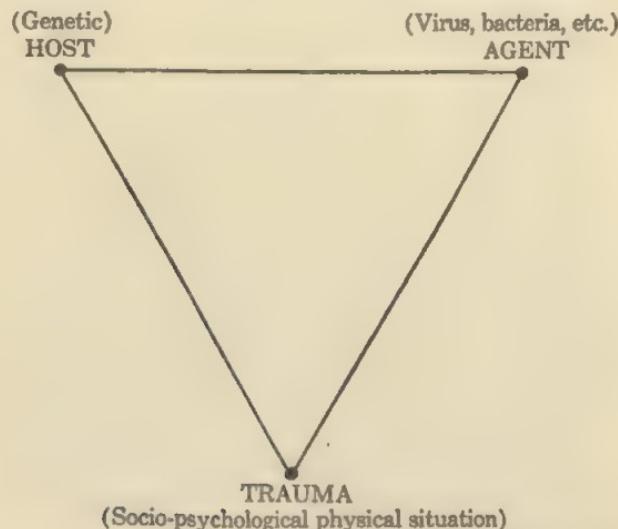


Fig. 2.1. A model depicting the relationship of etiological factors in disease.

the product of its operation or avoid the substrate in which it operates if the latter accumulates and is toxic. As more becomes known about the biochemistry of the body, it will be increasingly possible to treat genetic defects. For the individual, at least, his health and behavior represent an amalgamation of genetic and environmental influences.

Intelligence

Perhaps no more controversial area existed in the old nature-nurture arguments than in the field of intelligence. People have attempted to assign proportions of relative value to each of the two dimensions of genetics and environment. Of course, we realize now that this is fallacious reasoning. First, intelligence is not a single trait carried, like hemophilia, in a single gene. Intelligent behavior has many more aspects than the ability to do academic classroom work. Although our intelligence tests may measure academic ability with a fair degree of accuracy at a given moment, they are not measuring all the dimensions of intelligent behavior.

Second, the behavior of a person is not the result of an additive process, but develops from an organizing, integrating process in which a self-system is produced which represents a new integration of all organism-environment forces.

The evidences concerning the self-system—a person's organized responses—suggest the following conclusions relative to the roles of heredity and environment in intelligence: (1) there is an organic genetic base for intelligent behavior; (2) the actual measured intelligence of a particular person at a particular time, since performance on a test is behavior, is a result of the complex transactions between the organism and its environment up to that point; and (3) performance therefore, on an intelligence test can be modified by the exigencies of one's life experiences. As Boyd (1950, p. 104) states, "It is very doubtful if any tests [of IQ] have been devised whose results do not depend to a considerable extent on the environment as well as the heredity of the individual."

Studies of twins have shown that they tend to resemble each other in performance on IQ tests when they have been reared either in the same family or in environments that do not differ very widely from what might be found in an average community; but that "radical differences in education can create substantial differences in intelli-

gence, as far as intelligence is measured by our tests" (Woodworth, 1951, p. 358).

Temperament

Nationality stereotypes and physical-appearance stereotypes (such as: redheads are volatile, blondes (female) are sexy, fat people are jolly, or the injunction in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, "Yond Cassius has a lean and hungry look") have come down to us through both our folklore and our literature. What basis do they seem to have in fact? Is there a genetic basis for temperament?

The evidence suggests that the answer, as of now, is Maybe. Although many attempts have been made to find relationships between body build and personality, the evidence so far has not shown any clear causal picture. While some fat people may behave in jolly ways, we cannot say that this is due to their genetic make-up. Although some blondes may behave in sexy ways, the blondness may be more a result of the application of peroxide (and thus an acquired characteristic) than the effect of inherited characteristics coming to the surface in a real blonde!

If we look beyond surface appearances to the actions of body chemistry in the endocrine system, we may find some clues. We know that there are many relationships between hormonal secretions and behavior. To just the degree that predispositions to endocrine function or dysfunction are inherited, they will affect temperament. In the behavior of children, however, we cannot disentangle cause and effect so clearly.

Again, we are forced to arrive at the conclusion that temperament probably has genetic components in determining the efficiency of the nervous, muscular, and endocrine systems, but that the relationship is of an indirect nature. What happens in the course of living plays the predominant role in the determination of temperament.

Heredity-Environment Restated

Throughout our discussion of this topic of heredity and environment, it has become increasingly clear that these two forces must always be considered as a single organization, with now one and now the other contributing heavily to the development of a person. We can see that the genetic influence, except in the case of certain physical characteristics and diseases, is largely an indirect one. Such things

as mental defectiveness are influenced by cultural pressures. Even such physical characteristics as shape of the head and height have been shown, in studies by Shapiro on Japanese in Hawaii and those by Boas on Europeans in the continental United States, to be affected by environment.

Since we are concerned with the study of the whole person as he develops and organizes his self-system, we are primarily interested in those behaviors which are patterned and reflect this self-system in action.

Newman's study of identical twins who were reared apart provides some essential data and conclusions about the combined operation of heredity and environment. He studied sets of identical twins and measured intellectual, personality, and social differences. For example, in the case of Mildred and Ruth, the difference in environment between a banker's home and a labor foreman's home produced marked differences in personality and intellectual performance by the time they were seniors in high school. He concluded: "Physical characteristics are least affected by the environment; intelligence is affected more, educational achievement still more; and personality or temperament . . . the most" (Newman, 1937, p. 353). In terms of a self-system, Newman further stated that no form of behavior, even that largely determined by the original character of the organism, is impervious to influence or is most significant. Those behaviors which are not greatly modified are that way "because they have not as a matter of fact been incorporated into an *organized system of learned behavior*.² The forms of behavior which constitute the adjustment of the individual to his environment, on the other hand, are on a higher level of performance, which is the product of both the organism and the environment interacting" (Newman, 1937, p. 334).

In actual practice, in looking at the behavior of the growing child, we shall keep him whole instead of attempting to slice him up for analysis into genetic or environmental components.

Prenatal Influences

The genetic composition of the infant begins its work at the moment of conception. The environment also begins its work at this

² Emphasis is this author's.

time. Of course, there is no social environment, but the mother's womb constitutes a physical environment which influences the developing fetus. In this section, attention will be centered on this environment.

The Folklore Rejected

If you want your child to be a classical musician, there's no point trying to teach him while he is *in utero*. If you are afraid of snakes, he cannot acquire this fear at that stage either. Further, he will not have any birthmarks on him reflecting your fears or experiences during his prenatal period. We can safely reject as unscientific the notion that a mother's fears or hopes are transmitted intact to her child. Biology, particularly endocrinology, just does not work that way.

Endocrinal Influences

The child's life in the womb is not a blank as far as environmental forces are concerned. Some events do contribute to the child's development.

First, let us take a brief look at the mechanical arrangements of life in the mother's womb. The child's bloodstream is distinct from his mother's, and he is surrounded by a placenta through which there is a constant passage of nutrients to him and of waste products back to his mother. This is accomplished by a process of diffusion rather than by direct connection.

The primary question that confronts scientists working in this particular area is: What can be diffused? They speak of a placental barrier, which implies that only certain products in the mother's blood supply, such as oxygen and digested foodstuffs, are small enough and of such a nature to "get through." Since this is the only place of interchange between two otherwise independent systems, only those substances which can penetrate the barrier affect the developing child.

In the next section, we shall look at certain diseases which are bacterial or viral and, therefore, present in the mother's bloodstream. Here we are concerned with hormonal secretions, such as thyroxin, adrenin, and the like, which come from the mother's endocrine glands.

We know that during emotional periods, endocrine secretions, particularly of adrenin, are increased. Fear and rage, although dem-

onstrated in behavior in different fashions, are accompanied by secretions of the adrenal glands. A change in secretion of a hormone produces changes in the whole body system, affecting the function of the body. The question centers around whether the emotional state of the mother, through her hormones, plays a role in the development of the child by affecting his hormonal processes. Although we have clearly ruled out that the child is afraid, through prenatal influence, of what his mother is afraid, does the mother's fear, since it changes the hormonal balances in her blood, affect his blood supply and his hormones? Can endocrinial secretions penetrate the placental barrier? There seems to be some evidence that these endocrine secretions can, to some degree, do this. When the mother experiences sustained emotional stress and her whole system is thereby out of balance, the chances are that secretions reach the embryo. We do not know just what prolonged effect this may have, but it seems to influence at least the activity rate of the newborn (Sontag, 1941).

The Mother's Health

In Table 2.1, congenital deafness was stated to be due to genetic factors in one-third of the cases. The term "congenital" does not mean present in the genes, but present *at birth*. Another cause of congenital deafness is illness in the mother—for example, syphilis, German measles, or vitamin deficiencies.

The mother's diet plays a vital role in the prenatal growth of the child. It affects not only the presence or absence of congenital defects, but also the general state of health of the infant. Several research studies have led to the conclusion that "infants born to mothers on excellent or good diets [based on caloric, protein, vitamin and mineral intake] during pregnancy were superior in general health and vigor to infants born to mothers on poor diets" (Watson and Lowrey, 1958, p. 40). Burke and Stuart (1948) studied the effect of prenatal nutrition on the first six months of life. They found that the incidence of infections, such as bronchitis, colds and pneumonia, were higher in the poorer-diet group. The incidence of anemia was also higher in this group.

Timing plays a role in the effect of a disease upon the developing child. If German measles, for example, occurs when a particular development is going on, chances are there will be a malformation or dysfunction of that particular tissue or tissue system. Certain ortho-

pedic difficulties also seem to be related to the prenatal environment.

In general, the health of the mother, particularly in terms of her nutritional status and certain particular diseases, has a direct bearing upon the general state of health of the child and upon certain congenital difficulties.

Much remains to be discovered about this critical but little-known period during which the child is growing rapidly in the mother's womb.

Needs and Drives

In our discussion in Chapter 1 of the common aspects of man, we mentioned several needs as being forces which form and influence man's behavior and development. These were activity, love and belonging, predictability, esteem, and the like. Lists pages long have been made; people have attempted to categorize needs into biological and social, into basic and derived, into instinctual and learned. Any such analysis overlooks the unity of the person. All forces which compel man to behave are biosocial. We can label them in a multitude of ways, but they all may be seen as aspects of the urge to develop, mature, and enhance the experiencing organism, and to "preserve, protect, and defend" the already developed organization. All life seems to follow these two urges—growth and development—and the accompanying maintenance of organization.

Both these urges or drives or needs (however you wish to label them) are unspecific to a great extent in man. The child is born with them, but the actual pathways, the details, the patterned ways of working on and accomplishing these urges are to a tremendous extent experientially and, therefore, culturally determined. We cannot talk about basic biological needs as distinct and apart from social forces. Certainly the infant has to have nutrition to survive, but even such a thing as sucking has learning aspects to it.

Although all infants have both urges at birth, there is a wide range of individual differences as to how these needs are manifested. For example, one way in which infants try to follow both these urges is through tactile communication with the mother. "The infant evokes from the mother the tactile stimulation which he 'needs' and to which he responds in his own individual fashion as in sucking; the mother solicits from the infant this touching and sucking, which evokes milk

from the breast" (Frank, 1957, p. 225). This is a transactional process, as are all developmental processes. Even though feeding is a universal experience, the manner of feeding is somewhat personal and private in each family. There is wide range of differences in both the provision of and response to tactile experience. The mother's provision of experience, her feelings, and her reactions to the infant's behavior are also highly individual.

Even at such a common and low level of operation as infant feeding, we see that each situational field has unique components. Each mother-child relationship is personal and private; each baby and mother respond to each other in total ways, both of them attempting to meet their common needs. The feeding situation, therefore, is a perfect example of the combination of needs—nutritional, tactile, experiential—being worked on by the child in a situation, or "field," in which there is another person—in this example the mother, who is relating as a total person to the child.

Needs, drives, and urges represent potentialities, pushes, and overall directions. They do not operate in a social vacuum. Meeting these needs requires the interaction process, first with the family and later with society as a whole. The self is developed through these transactions with the environment.

Three ideas can serve to sum up the above discussion:

1. All children are born with certain urges or forces for development, such as nutrition, warmth, adequacy, and comfort. These urges can all be seen as related to one fundamental drive—the drive toward actualization, development, maximal organization, or integration. As a phase of this fundamental urge, the person also attempts to maintain his already developed organization. Maintenance is a part of the process of development.

2. Operationally, this fundamental urge is not purely biological. From the moment of birth it finds its expression through biosocial means. Little Johnny growing up in North America has the same fundamental need as Juan, his Latin neighbor. The differences between the two boys as they grow are due partly to the differences in the cultural experiences with which they are confronted.

3. Although all newborn infants possess this same fundamental urge, the biochemical make-up of each body differs; each has inherited a different set of genes and has had a different intrauterine

experience. The intensity of the urge to grow, particularly in its many facets such as nutritional needs, warmth and cuddling needs, needs for sleep, will differ. Johnny and Juan will behave differently toward their parents from birth on, not only because their parents behave differently toward them but also because they possess different internal systems.

Readiness for Experiences

We are now ready to look at the infant at the moment of birth. We know that he will be himself and not a carbon copy or simple composite of his mother and father. We know that he will arrive with this fundamental urge to grow toward maximal organization, even though we cannot predict what it will be. We know that he will be shaped by what he experiences in a biosocial field from now on, and that he has already had biological experiences *in utero*.

Because experience will play such a crucial role, and because experience is related not only to what we do to the infant but also to what he is able to do, let us examine him as the doctor holds him up by the legs and gives him a whack, his first "hard knock," to get him going. Yes, he is all there—two arms, two legs, two eyes, two ears, etc. But are they all functioning? Are they really "ready to go"? How about the internal organs, the muscles, the nerves? Are they all set?

Sensory Readiness

Research clearly indicates that an infant's senses are functional at birth. He experiences the whack from the doctor. He is sensitive to pressure, to changes in temperature, and to pain, and he responds specifically to these stimuli. He responds as well to his position in the total field; that is, he seeks balance, and he can control muscular movement to find, within limits, a comfortable posture. There is controlled movement. "The proprioceptors in muscles and tendons and possibly joints, are functional well before birth. By the time of birth these mechanisms have undergone such development that they are among the best-organized receptor fields so far as initiation and control of behavior are concerned. . . . It is certain that tonus adjustments of the body muscles in postural responses . . . are among significant pre-natal activities" (Carmichael, 1954, pp. 146, 148).

Thus, in respect to skin sensitivity and balance, the infant is ready for experience and can differentiate among stimuli.

What about experiences not related to touch? Although the newborn infant cannot see in the sense of making discriminations of shape and color, he is sensitive to light, depending upon its strength and duration. Within a few weeks after birth, he will be able to fixate on a nearby object directly in front of him.

He will be able to hear just as soon as the middle ear has lost the amniotic fluid it collected in birth, and he will respond to a loud noise within the first few days. However, there is little discrimination of pitch and direction.

There is not much response to the normal range of smells, but there is a vigorous one to ammonia or acetic acid. However, outside the experimental laboratory, chances are that an infant is not going to be expected to take a deep whiff of these!³

Reactions to temperature are also within his capability. However, there is a "normal" temperature range that does not evoke reaction. Changes outside the individual infant's normal range produce vigorous attempts to alter the situation; for example, both respiration and circulation are stepped up. The infant mobilizes what organization he has in an attempt to maintain a steady-state.

The responses he is able to make are functions of his state of development. A basic principle of growth is that development proceeds in a cephalocaudal, proximodistal fashion. That is, it proceeds from the head region down, and from the center out. As we would expect to find, the infant responds more around the head region, particularly around the mouth, than at any other place. Although there are gross muscular movements of arms and legs, there is little control of them. Reactions are either specific reflexes, such as the grasping movement of the hands, or general reflexes, such as the *Moro* response (general clutching movements) to something startling.

Much has been written about whether sucking is a reflex or a learned behavior. "The problem has been thoroughly studied in human infants and it appears that sucking and swallowing movements form a chain of reflexes but that other reflexes such as orientation and manipulation tend to be more or less independent." Further,

³ For a thorough discussion of experimental evidence on reactions, see Pratt (1954).

"the human evidence indicates that there are consistent individual differences in sucking behaviors" (Ross, 1957, p. 78).

In summary, the neonate (an infant less than a month old) is sensitive to stimuli, mostly to his own internal stimuli. His responses, though attempts to attain equilibrium, are not efficient or adequate. He cannot correct well for temperature change; he cannot change his position much. Although he can suck, he needs help in feeding, and, of course, he cannot supply his own food.

Circulatory Readiness

There has been considerable controversy over the state of organization of the infant. Much of it has centered around the importance of "mothering" in the physical survival of the infant. Ribble (1944) has claimed that there is inadequate development of primary functions, and that the infant therefore needs psychological mothering to aid in physiological as well as psychological development. Pinneau, on the basis of a careful study of the research, has written a devastating reply to this thesis. In relation to respiration, he states: "One, normally the birth process augments the oxygen supply of the fetus; two, newborn infants appear to reach the adult level of oxygenation in a few hours; three, they appear capable of enduring an extraordinary degree of asphyxia" (Pinneau, 1950, p. 209). In relation to heart function, he states:

1. Rather than being a matter of the "first months," *functional* closure of the fetal channels is a matter of the first hours of post-natal life.
2. Rather than passing through a period of instability and inadequacy in meeting the neonatal needs, the heart is seen to assume its post-natal function in the first day.
3. The blood, rather than showing an unstable and inadequate distribution to the organs as maintained by Ribble, is forced through any previous passages by a steadily increasing blood pressure (Pinneau, 1950, p. 206).

Although Pinneau's picture of the degree of organization is accurate, two considerations remain. First, all research illustrates the tremendous range of individual differences among infants as to their degree of organizational maturity. For example, research with neonates at the University of Illinois hospital indicated "that there are qualitative and quantitative individual differences in autonomic function apparent within the first few days of life. These differences

are both in terms of autonomic-system endowment and the rate of maturation" (Richmond and Lustman, 1955, p. 274). Not only is there a wide range of individual differences, but the fluctuations within the individual are of a high order.

Second, although the infant may have a high degree of organization in some tissue systems, such as heart and lungs, on the whole he is inadequate to face the task of survival on his own. The main question is the importance of mothering on his total self-development and not merely on his survival as a physical being.

No researcher in the field of child development denies the importance of the mothering process. The question of the mechanisms involved is at issue, but as we shall see in Chapter 3, the role of mothering is a vital one in self-development.

Conclusion

What can be concluded? (1) The child comes into the world with a highly complex organization, some subsystems of which are able to function at a high level in helping the body maintain itself. Some parts of his body, such as the organs of sight and hearing and especially the neuromuscular systems of the extremities, are still a long way from efficient operation. (2) The infant is basically still an inefficient organization, unable to modify its environment to meet its drive for growth and maintenance without help through the mothering process. This process is one of communication, not only of food but of all kinds of stimulation. (3) The infant responds to tactile communication, to changes in temperature, to body position, and to changes in his internal state, such as hunger. (4) The head region, particularly the mouth, is the vital center for stimulation. (5) The infant can differentiate between comfort and discomfort.

This combination of ability to respond, sensitivity to his internal being, and inability to meet his own needs provides the setting for the drama of the development of the individual's self-system.

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The Family Setting

*His own parents, he that had father'd him and
she that had conceiv'd him in her womb
and birth'd him,
They gave this child more of themselves than that,
They gave him afterward every day, they became
part of him . . .
The family usages, the language, the company, the
furniture, the yearning and swelling heart,
Affection that will not be gainsay'd . . .*

—WALT WHITMAN, "There Was a Child Went Forth"

The Dual Role of the Family

If a cultural anthropologist from outer space were to "drop in on" the Earth to explore our ways of living, he would first report on the universal phenomenon of the family unit. Although he'd see that different societies have different forms of family life and different customs and arrangements, he'd perhaps list two major "jobs" that the family performs. First, it provides an emotional setting, a climate of affection, an interpersonal network in which the growing child can work toward self-enhancement through feeling warm, comfortable, loved, and accepted "at home." Second, the family, through its particular way of life, is a teacher of culture to the child. The family is a cultural agency, passing on from its adult

members to its children the appropriate behaviors and beliefs, so that the child can "grow out" from home and meet the world face to face, knowing how to behave.

Of course, especially in a complex civilization such as ours, the family is not an isolated unit, and other cultural agencies begin their work early in the game. The family acts as the anchorage point, the mediator and interpreter of the culture to the child. For example, as the 4-year-old watches TV, he turns to his mother and says, "Why do the bad men always wear dark clothes and have mustaches?" As he rides in the car and sees houses different from his own, he asks, "Why do people live there?" The explanations he receives, throughout the day from family members, shape his particular interpretations of the world.

In addition to family members interpreting the culture through explanation, they teach by example. The child learns how to behave by the way he is treated, and by the way he sees others behave toward the people and objects which surround him. He discovers that "the news" is important, because he has to be quiet at the dinner table "while the news is on." He soon learns that time holds much meaning. Long before he can read the clock, or "tell time," he sees that many aspects of his behavior are regulated by time; that he cannot invoke his favorite cartoon program by wishing it there, but has to wait until it's the right time. In all these learnings, the interpersonal relationships in the home provide the emotional setting, the backdrop, and the stage.

The Security-Adequacy Constellation

The infant and small child, before the advent of language, begins to organize himself in relation to this family setting. We said at the end of the previous chapter that he is a totally dependent person; he cannot meet his own needs. At this early stage of development, he is unable to differentiate outer from inner, self from world, mother from others. He is living almost from moment to moment. He experiences comfort and discomfort, even though he is unable to label his discomfort as "hunger" or "wetness" or "air bubbles" or other physical states. The way he is handled, the way in which his needs are met within the family, initiate the psychological processes of the development of attitudes toward one's self. Basically, in this early period, the family behavior influences two basic self-regarding

attitudes. These are: "I feel comfortable" and "I can do things to affect my comfort." Of course, the infant doesn't say this; we can infer it from his behavior and we can see the evidence of it in clinics years later. We call the first "security" and the second "adequacy." Both are highly interrelated, but have certain peculiar aspects of their own. As we look at this family setting, we'll see how the behavior of the adults influence both these feelings in the developing child.

The Family as an Interpersonal Field

The Family Structure

No behavior takes place outside a field, or situation. The organization of this field and the individual's own perception of the field play important roles in determining behavior. The family is such a field for the growing child. Who the members are and his own particular location in the organizational pattern influence his own self-development. Of course, we need to recognize that there is no simple one-to-one cause-effect relationship. We cannot say, as we view a child in action as an adult, that he acts this way "because he was an only child," as if this were a sufficient answer; or, in another case, "his sister was born when he was 2." These may be crucial considerations for some children; they may mean very little in the lives of others. Research may indicate the likelihood of a particular personality pattern emerging from either of the above factors in a person's life story. In each individual case this factor needs to be seen as the person himself perceives it, and placed in the proper perspective in relation to the myriad of forces making impacts upon him.

In interpreting any research findings, we need to always remember that they suggest group trends—they point out the probabilities—but they are *not* accurate descriptions of any single individual.

ORDINAL POSITION. With this caution as a guide, what are the probabilities that youngsters will develop different facets in terms of the order in which they are born into a family? While the day on which a child is born (as in the nursery rhyme, "Monday's child is fair of face . . . and a child that's born on the Sabbath day . . .") has no significance, the timing of his birth seems to be important. First-born children seem to be better oriented toward adequacy

strivings; they seem to have stronger needs to achieve. They seem to be less secure than their siblings, more prone to give up in the face of difficulty, and more likely to handle their feelings through withdrawal rather than attack techniques. In general, the oldest child perceives himself as less adequate, less loved, less able to manipulate his world than do his siblings.

Helen Koch conducted a rather intensive study of sibling relationships and personality variables in Chicago. Her subjects were all 5- and 6-year-olds from white, urban, native-born, two-children families. There was a preponderance of middle- and upper-class children in her groups. Two of her substudies are pertinent here. In both, 384 children, half of each sex, divided equally into all the possible two sibling combinations, constituted her sample. There were 24 subgroups of 16 children each. One subgroup, for example, was composed of 16 boys, each with a younger brother two to four years his junior. Both studies used teacher's ratings of behavior on items selected from the Fels Children's Behavior Scale and the California Behavior Inventory for Nursery School Children. The study of work habits showed that first-borns whose siblings were born soon afterward are more planful and more curious, and that first-born girls are more "dawdling" (1956a, p. 308). The study of emotional attitudes disclosed that first-borns "were judged to recover less readily from upsets as well as to anger" (1956b, p. 422) than their siblings. These findings tend to support the picture of the first child's concepts of self.

If we look at the possible dynamics, we can see certain forces at work within the family setting which might create such a constellation of self-perceptions in the older child. First, he's the child the parents "learn on," and later "lean on." His coming, particularly to parents with little experience with new babies in their own family backgrounds, creates, along with love and positive feelings of fulfillment, anxiety and tension in the new parents. They may not know, or they may not believe they know, how to handle him. This anxiety and tension is communicated to the child in the way he is handled in infancy, in the way rules are tried out and socialization procedures experimented with as he grows. He's the "guinea pig" upon which the parents experiment. With all the love and good faith in the world, this hesitancy and shift in treatment may leave its impact upon the child.

In addition, he's the only member of the family who loses the center of the stage when the new baby comes. His kid sister never has to cope with this! Third, his arrival creates an adjustment problem for his parents. Their established interpersonal patterns, their routines must be readjusted. Their social life, even the times they normally wake up and go to sleep, has to be modified. This is usually achieved through trial and error, but, again, forms part of the general emotional climate of the home.

Fourth, much is often expected of the older child. In squabbles over toys, he often is expected to give way "because he's older and should understand." His rewards, on the other hand, come through achievement and staying out of the way. Being able to play well by oneself while mother is busy with the new baby is appreciated and encouraged. Withdrawal devices have positive gains for such a child.

Before conveying the impression that all older children are "doomed," let's remember that the above are *possible* dynamics which contribute to the fact that *on the average* more first children, although normal, indicate more problems than their siblings, and use more withdrawal devices to handle their tensions.

The evidence seems to indicate that spacing and sex play roles, as well as ordinal position. If the second child follows close on the heels of the first, the chances are greater that this constellation of self-perceptions might emerge.

Research on other ordinal positions seems to indicate that the middle child, as we would expect, is more suggestible, more social, and seeks physical affection. The youngest child's behavior seems to indicate strong drives toward the establishment of his own individuality within the family setting, and a concept of himself as secure and adequate.

Again, we need to remember that this picture will vary from family to family. On the whole, it seems to show us that the child's concept of himself will be influenced by his place in the family.

NUMBER OF FAMILY MEMBERS. As Henry and Warson state, as you increase the number of family members by one, you increase the interactional possibilities by many more than one. For example, "in a family of three, four interrelationships are possible, (mother-father, mother-child, father-child and father-mother-child); in a

family of four there are 11 interrelationships . . ." (1951, p. 59). All these interrelationships have emotional loadings and, in addition, serve to present to the child many models of possible behaviors which he might emulate. At the present time, research does not clearly indicate any personality patterning typical of the child from a large family as compared to an only child or a child from a small family. Indeed, we probably shouldn't expect to find a typical "large family" or "small family" member. As we have seen, ordinal position and timing have relevance, and there are many variables that would have to be considered in exploring this problem.

Another aspect of the family field of forces is the presence or absence of a parent. What does it mean to the child to grow up in a broken home? In discussing homes where the father is absent but living, Gardner (1956), using clinical rather than experimental evidence, cites many of the possible ill-effects of such a situation on the concept of self of the child. He points out that such a child will probably feel different from his peers, he may feel unloved by his father, and "even worse for the child is the feeling that his basic and fundamental security may be in large part swept away if either parent leaves him" (Gardner, 1956, p. 58).

Perhaps, in working with children and youth, we need to ask ourselves: "What has been this child's particular experience; what has been the particular family field of forces in his life?" Using a clinical approach may prove more fruitful in the understanding of individual development.

SEX OF CHILDREN. Koch's findings, in which not only ordinal position but also sex of the child and of siblings were variables, showed relationships between these factors and the attitudes and speech (1956c) of children. In the latter case, in white, urban families with two children, "Boys were discovered both to talk and to stutter more than girls" (1956c, p. 327). The wider the spacing when the children were of opposite sexes, the more the tendency to stutter. When they were of the same sex, this trend was reversed.

The sex of the child and his parents' attitudes are of tremendous importance in shaping his behavior. We shall examine this in greater detail in the last part of this chapter when we explore the cultural expectations.

SUMMARY. On the basis of research and clinical findings, we can say that the family constellation influences the total development of the child—his speech, his skills, his attitudes, his self-concepts. Although each family is a unique organization and field, in general, first-borns seem to have a harder time of it and the youngest seem to have the most adequate self-concepts.

Child-Rearing and the Dual Role

The admonitions of the experts, both those who are qualified by training and those who are self-appointed, are on all sides of the new mother. Suggestions and advice are offered by Gesell and Spock on the one hand, and by the neighbors and relatives on the other. The advice, particularly from the self-appointed, is usually arbitrary and heavily laden with "thou shalts" and "thou shalt nots." Everybody has an opinion on how to "bring up her kids," and often those with no children have the loudest voices.

In this period of the child's life, before there is much evidence of self-awareness (that is, before he is 1½ or 2) there are three major clusters of experience around which much of the advice and concern are grouped. The first is feeding, the second is weaning, and the third is toilet-training. Of course, there are other concerns that face the parents as they attempt to bring up the child, but these three seem to be primary.

NURSING. To breast feed or bottle feed, which is better for the health and security of the child? Nursing has both cultural and interpersonal aspects, and these exist within a particular family in a special and unique combination. Different segments of our society advocate different practices. Whether bottle- or breast-fed, maternal behavior ranges from permissiveness and its misinterpretation of license to rigidity and the notion that "crying is good for the lungs." These differences stem from ethnic backgrounds, from religious viewpoints, from social class values, and from the personalities of the mother and father. The mass media magazines (such as those given out in department store nursery departments, sold at supermarkets, or the full-length ones like *The Ladies' Home Journal*) add their voices to the confusion.

What does research establish? First, any direct relationship be-

tween a particular approach to feeding and adult personality is *not* shown by the data (Orlansky, 1949; Thurston and Mussen, 1951). Further, in the first year of life, permissiveness or rigidity does not seem to affect the behavior of the child (Klatzkin *et al.*, 1956). These conclusions push us away from offering sage universal advice such as, "All children should be breast-fed," or, "All children should be fed only on schedule." As Newton states: "It is a mistake to consider all breast feeding as a comforting, close experience. When the let-down reflex [the reflex in the mother which releases the milk from the nipple] is inhibited, it can be an extremely frustrating experience" (Newton, 1958, p. 19).

Most of the research of a single-variable nature looks at the technique being studied and overlooks the mother-child interaction. Breast feeding, when the mother desires it and the child responds, seems to enhance the emotional relationship between mother and child, as well as give the baby some antibodies in the colostrum that precedes the true milk in the early days. The mother's physiological functioning is such that there is a tie between breast feeding and uterine contraction. The mother who breast feeds and is uninhibited in it, not only helps get her organs back to normal shape and "not only gives her baby the pleasure of a secure and abundant milk supply, but she, herself, derives pleasurable physical sensations from the act of breast feeding . . . and thus the mother-child relationship starts on the basis of physical desire as well as companionship" (Newton, 1958, p. 19). On the other hand, being breast-fed by a rejecting mother, or one who is doing it only because it is expected, probably operates to create anxiety rather than security.

If we approach the answer from a transactional point of view, the child will develop and thrive when the feeding situation is constructed in such a way that his (1) biological needs are met and (2) his mother is comfortable and relaxed. This can occur, depending upon the family, under a variety of circumstances. In essence, it doesn't seem to make any difference whether the baby is breast- or bottle-fed, has an essentially demand feeding or a not completely arbitrary routine, as long as the above two conditions are met.

WEANING. We can say the same thing here. There doesn't seem to be an optimal time for weaning. If we go back to Chapter 2 and recall what was said about the wide range of individual needs for

sucking, tactile communication, and the wide range of maturation, this conclusion should not surprise us. Some children need mothering longer than others; some cultures impose weaning much sooner than others. When we approach this in terms of individual behavior, we find no clear-cut evidence favoring a particular pattern.

TOILET-TRAINING. In the case of toilet-training, we are faced with somewhat the same range of demands upon the child, from permissiveness and delayed expectations to harshness and early demands. In a comparison of 20 societies, these expectations ranged from beginning training at 6 months to letting things ride until the child is 5. The American middle class ranked with one other subgroup at the extreme of early expectation. In harshness of training, the American middle-class norm again was at the most severe end of the group (Whiting and Child, 1953, pp. 74-77). Comparisons have been made within American society between classes and castes, and the picture again shows wide ranges of individual differences. The average middle-class parent expects that children should be trained early and that cleanliness is an important attribute to learn. "Clean" and "good" are associated early.

Considerations of the impact of toilet-training on self-development differ in one respect from feeding and weaning. That is, we need to look at the organizational development of the child, in particular at neuromuscular development, to see whether demands being made are beyond the reach of the child. Toilet-training demands the ability to control. In Chapter 1, we discussed the interrelationship of structure-function. This is the key point here. Does control rely on maturation, or can learning affect the development of myelin (the fatty covering of nerve cells which protect the nerve fibers)? Researchers differ on this point, but there seems to be some agreement that "some degree of function may appear in the absence of myelin . . ." and the suggestion is made that "myelinization may be the result of development of function rather than the cause" (Orlansky, 1949, pp. 19-20).

The research again does not substantiate any single cause-effect relationship between toilet-training and adult personality.

CHILD-REARING AS A COMPLEX. What do these results mean? Clearly, the first conclusion we must draw is that any attempt to present arbitrary "right answers" to parents, which guarantee ade-

quate and secure personalities, is nonsense. Second, the child-rearing situation must be viewed as a phase of the total family pattern and family value system. Any specific technique reflects both the cultural expectations and the interpersonal climate of the home. In understanding the impact of the experience upon the child, his own organism must also be included as a part of the process. The interpersonal climate of the home, rather than the specific technique employed, seems to be a major contributing factor in self-development.

Loving and the Dual Role

We have said several times that the network of family relationships is a major force shaping self-development. For example, in the discussion of feeding, the degree of comfort of the mother was stated as a major criterion in determining the best individual procedure.

PARENTAL RELATIONSHIPS. A healthy parent-child relationship that is nonexploitive and that provides the child with security can develop when the parental relationship is a healthy, loving one. The mother's comfort depends to a considerable extent upon the nature of the relationship she has with her husband. Her feelings of being valued, loved, respected; her acceptance of herself and her femininity are heavily affected by her husband's acceptance of her and her roles. The mother-father relationship, then, is the one that determines and pervades all the others. On the basis of a longitudinal research program, it was found that "marital adjustment yielded more consistent and higher correlations with behavior and personality difficulties than did other family variables" (Macfarlane, 1943, p. 323). Culturally oriented psychoanalysts view the Oedipus situation, in which there is a strong bond between mother and son, as growing out of a poor husband-wife relationship where the wife turns to the son as a love-object to gratify her needs. Although some of the research is inconclusive with regard to the exact relationship between marital adjustment and the child's personality (Stroup, 1956; Hawkes *et al.*, 1956), the clinical evidence indicates strongly that such a relationship exists.

Although different social classes within our society define the role of wife-mother in differing fashion, and while the ways in which

affection and respect are demonstrated vary widely depending upon ethnic, religious, and class backgrounds, the underlying emotional tone is the significant aspect. A wife may feel loved even though her husband comes home drunk on Saturday night and beats her up; or she may know she's loved even though her husband's culture has taught him that any public displays of affection are somehow sinful. As the cultural expectations for women change, she may be able to accept herself as feminine and worthwhile either through staying home with the children or entering the job market. In any case, her feelings of self-acceptance affect the ways she treats her children and shows them, however subtly, how she feels about them.

PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS. Orlansky (1949, p. 42), after a thorough critical analysis of specific infant care techniques, states: "There is a good deal of evidence that subtle behavioral cues to maternal emotion are detected by the child in later months of life, and that these cues may be more important in governing its character development than are the gross patterns of discipline which an observer may quickly note." Some feel that these cues are transmitted even earlier. For example: "A person, who is emotionally disturbed while holding or carrying an infant, may communicate that disturbance to the infant through tactile contacts. . . ." (Frank, 1957, pp. 226-227).

The evidence about the importance of love and mothering point strongly toward a recognition that this is a crucial dynamic in self-development. Behrens' (1954) work with urban lower middle-class families, Bender's (1946) research on institutionalized children, and Prescott's (1952) review of research on love in human development are all clear on this point. Not only does this relationship affect the child's sense of security, but also it carries over and affects his development of adequacies as well. In the development of language, McCarthy (1954, p. 522) summarizes the research by saying: "The home atmosphere as determined by the personalities of the parents seems to be the most important single factor influencing the child's acquisition of language."

Although the ways in which the parents communicate love to each other and to their children are influenced by their cultures and own familiar experiences, the fact of communication of love, and its perception by the infant as love, is the overriding consideration.

THE "CLIMATE OF FEELING" AS A COMPLEX. The child begins to develop his sense of identity, his sense of self-worth, from the ways he is treated and evaluated by the other members of his family. We have seen that it is not the techniques used in and of themselves which convey to him the attitudes and beliefs his parents hold about him. There is certainly no one right way in which to express love to the child. The presence of love, and his perception of being loved, is important. This climate is created by the ways all members of the family treat each other, by the tones of voice used, by the kinds of tactile sensations which are denied or experienced. Both societal expectations and parental attitudes are combined into parental behavior. Further, the child himself is a part of the field of forces. He is not a mere passive recipient—he is an active person, contributing his share to the development of the family "climate of feeling." Feeding, sleeping, playing, etc., are all transactional processes.

At the very beginning, the child's sex and appearance are stimuli that evoke parental feelings and responses. His cries, his being a "good baby" who sleeps 20 out of 24 hours, his lack of colic, his reactions to their behavior, all leave their mark upon the parents. The infant has a share in the determination of his own fate. True, it's not a share over which he has a conscious control, but what happens to him is partly influenced by what he does and how his behavior is perceived by his parents.

SUMMARY. The climate of feeling in the home, mutually created by all members of the family but most strongly influenced by the parents' love and acceptance of each other, provides the original environmental source for the child's development of self-concepts, attitudes toward the world, adequacies, and perceptions. If this climate is a loving one, he will be more able to develop adequate and realistic notions of self and world.

Age-Sex Standard-Setting and the Dual Role

Along with the pattern of relationships within the family, we must consider what parents expect of each other and what they expect of their children as potent forces which shape the behavior and development of the child. We mentioned earlier that in America there are many ways in which a woman can behave and still perceive herself as a good wife and mother. Similarly, there are many

roles the man can play—from “breadwinner” to part-time cook, to partner-in-housework—and still perceive of himself as male and good husband and father.

Expectations are held for the children and rewards and punishments, smiles and frowns, praise and reproof meted out in accordance with the child's attempts to meet these standards. Parents are not necessarily aware of their expectations, and certainly those held by the parents will reflect their own sex and cultural experiences. The injunction that parents should always agree overlooks the perceptual realities of each—each sees life in his own fashion. The best that can be hoped for are agreements on the major issues, and agreements to let the minor issues be decided by the parent with the child at the time, with the support and approval of the other.

EXPECTATIONS FOR INFANTS. Luckily for the infant, both parents usually are more in agreement during this beginning period. They expect him to be helpless and cuddlesome and completely dependent. They look forward to his accomplishing such feats as rolling over or following their hands or grabbing his toe. While Father may want these to happen a little faster and Mother may be more content to let him be this helpless, adorable infant, generally the expectations are common regardless of the parent and regardless of the sex of the baby. The first expectation, then, is one of dependency. The expectancies are asexual at this point, although we find the beginnings of cultural differentiation in the “blue for boys, pink for girls” gifts that shower upon the new baby.

The pressures for movement from dependence to independence vary, of course, from family to family, but in the middle class they are begun early and are persistent. There have been two recent major studies of patterns of child-rearing in modern America. Sears and his colleagues at Harvard used interviews with 379 mothers who had children attending public kindergarten in two suburbs of a large metropolitan New England area. They conducted standard open-ended interviews with these mothers and then scaled the responses for comparison. They used the Warner scale for determining social class position. In relation to dependence, they report that individual mothers report wide differences in their own feelings regarding dependent behavior of their children, but most accept it as normal and natural in infancy. They see their task as enabling the

small child to broaden his base of attention and affection to include other adults and peers (Sears *et al.*, 1957, p. 141).

The other major study was made by Miller and Swanson in the Detroit area. In comparison with the other studies to determine child-rearing practices, they attempted to use current concepts about the changing American culture toward increased organization. In effect, they asked if the children of "organization men" were reared differently from those of the older, entrepreneurial family. Their term for the newer type is "bureaucratic," which they defined essentially as working for someone else in a large organization for wage or salary. The entrepreneurial family is engaged in small enterprise of a risk-taking nature.

Their results "show only a modest correspondence with those found elsewhere" (Miller and Swanson, 1958, p. 144). (See Tables 3.1 and 3.2.)

On the basis of interviews with 479 white mothers and children under 19, they found that the newer, bureaucratic family permits more dependence and utilizes more continuing and extrenal control. They state:

"We find that entrepreneurial mothers among the middle classes are significantly more likely than bureaucratic mothers of similar social status to feed babies on a schedule, to begin urinary training before the baby is 11 months old, and to use symbolic rather than direct punishments. They also are more likely to give a baby who cries when 'nothing is wrong with him' some attention only after he sobs for a while or, in some cases, to pay no attention to him at all" (Miller and Swanson, 1958, p. 97).

"Children Should Be . . ."

It is when we move past the first 6 months or so, and particularly when the child is mobile, that a number of other expectations combining cultural and individual factors become more evident. Standards for cleanliness and sexual modesty are laid down; areas and objects are placed "off limits" to curious hands; the child's own safety poses limits on mobility, etc. Again, these demands and restrictions, these "dos" and "don'ts," are more a function of the age than the sex of the child. They are certainly a function of the culture and class position of the family and, finally, they are related to the personality structure of the adults. Concern for neighbors may dic-

TABLE 3.1

Comparison of the Davis-Havighurst Findings on Social Class and Child Rearing with those of the Detroit Study

Davis-Havighurst Finding	DETROIT AREA STUDY FINDING ^a			
	Entrepreneurial Middles vs. Entrepreneurial Lowers	Entrepreneurial Middles vs. Bureaucratic Lowers	Bureaucratic Middles vs. Bureaucratic Lowers	Bureaucratic Middles vs. Entrepreneurial Lowers
1. More lower-class children are fed only at the breast.	0	0	0	0
2. More lower-class children are fed on demand.	+<.20	+<.05	0	0
3. Middle-class children are weaned earlier.	0	0	+<.10	0
4. Bowel training is begun earlier with middle-class children.	+<.05	+<.01	0	0
5. Bladder training is begun earlier with middle-class children.	0	+<.10	0	-<.02
6. More lower-class parents complete bladder training by 18 months.	0	0	0	0
7. Middle-class expects higher occupational status for children.	0	0	0	0

^a In this table, a plus (+) sign at the intersection of a row and column means that the DAS finding is in the same direction as that of Davis and Havighurst and reaches the .50 level of confidence or beyond. Where differences between the social classes were found at the .20 level of confidence or beyond for both tails of the probability distribution, the actual p values are reported. A minus (-) appears in this table whenever the DAS finding is opposite in direction to that of Davis and Havighurst and at the .50 level of confidence or beyond. A zero (0) means that the DAS finding did not reach a confidence level of .50.

SOURCE: Reprinted from *The Changing American Parent*, D. Miller and G. Swanson, 1958, Wiley, p. 135. Used by permission.

TABLE 3.2

Comparison of the Harvard Group's Findings on Social Class and Child Rearing with those of the Detroit Study

Harvard Group's Finding	DETROIT AREA STUDY FINDINGS ^a			
	Entrepreneurial Middles vs. Entrepreneurial Lowers	Entrepreneurial Middles vs. Bureaucratic Lowers	Bureau- cratic Middles vs. Bureau- cratic Lowers	Bureau- cratic Middles vs. Entrepreneurial Lowers
1. No class differences in age of weaning.	+	+	-<.10	+
2. No class differences in use of breast feeding.	+	+	+	+
3. No class differences in use of scheduled feeding.	-<.10	-<.05	+	+
4. No class differences in age of beginning toilet training. ^b	-<.05	-<.01	+	+
5. Upper-lower mothers use more punishment and scoldings for toilet accidents.	0	0	0	0
6. Upper-middle mothers ignore masturbation or seek to distract child.	0	-<.02	0	+<.01
7. Upper-lower mothers use physical punishment more often.	+<.01	+<.02	0	0

^a In this table, a plus (+) sign at the intersection of a row and column means that the DAS finding is in the same direction as that of the Harvard group and reaches the .50 level of confidence or beyond. Where differences between social classes were found at the .20 level of confidence or beyond for both tails of the probability distribution, the actual p values are reported. A minus sign (-) appears in this table whenever the DAS finding is opposite in direction to that of the Harvard group and at the .50 level of confidence or beyond. A zero (0) means that the DAS finding did not reach a confidence level of .50.

^b The Harvard group reference to "toilet training" refers to bowel rather than urinary training.

SOURCE: Reprinted from *The Changing American Parent*, D. Miller and C. Swanson, 1958, Wiley, p. 140. Used by permission.

tate that the living room is out-of-bounds, while closing bathroom doors may reflect both the sexual concern of the mother and the particular ethnic or class culture of the parents.

When we look, in the following chapters, at the rise of self-awareness in the child, this period will be seen as having important bearing on the "negativism" or "overdependency" of the child.

Our culture has many age-graded expectations, and the child learns "his place" in the scheme of things through the ways these are communicated to him. His sense of selfhood, of who and what he is, of what he can and cannot do, is developed partly as a result of his experiencing these demands. They are, of course, never communicated apart from the parental attitudes and feelings which surround them. They are defined in myriad ways, but they all have in common the injunction: this is what children should be. "From a comparative point of view, our culture goes to great extremes in emphasizing contrasts between the child and the adult. The child is sexless, the adult estimates his virility by his sexual activities; the child must be protected from the ugly facts of life, the adult must meet them without psychic catastrophe; the child must obey, the adult must command his obedience. These are all dogmas of our culture . . ." (Benedict, 1953, p. 466).

Specifically, during this period when selfhood is being initiated, what are some of the demands and expectations held for children?

First, there are expectations concerning conduct with other children. Here we can see again the type of discontinuity of which Benedict spoke. We expect children to share toys, to play nicely with each other, to take turns, to cooperate. (That is, do what the adults want done.) ". . . let us consider how often children are expected to share their most cherished possessions, toys, with one another, and how we try to educate them to do that, while at the same time expecting them to succeed in a highly competitive society when they grow up" (Bettelheim, 1952, p. 77).

Second, there are expectations about sexual activity. "The task of the mother in our society . . . involves training the child to inhibit sex impulses toward family members, avoid erotic play with other children, and avoid sexual self-stimulation" (Sears *et al.*, 1957, p. 181).

The Detroit Area Study found the differences in permissiveness to be related to the type rather than the social class of the family. "Entrepreneurial middle-class mothers are more likely than bureaucratic

mothers of the same social class to use harsh means to stop a child from sucking his body, to declare that their children did not touch their sex organs, and to say that they took measures to stop a child who touches his sex organs" (Miller and Swanson, 1958, p. 105).

Third, there are the continued expectations about relationships to authority. The child is expected to be obedient, but the adult is expected to have reasons for his requests. Although final authority may rest in the adult because of his physical prowess, rational authority is usually presented to the child as the basis for expectations. While parents will say in exasperation, "Do it because I told you to!" they usually offer reasons to the child when he asks, "Why?" In turn, they expect the child to have reasons and, further, to know reasons for his behavior. In terms of the development of self, children learn that people (including themselves) are expected to be rational, that authority rests on reason, not force, and that "just cause" is usually not an acceptable reason for either a request or behavior. This perception of causality and rationality becomes clarified further as language develops, because our language structure is organized in this fashion.

The handling of aggression is a fourth area in which expectations are held for the child. In addition to age and sex, social class is a major variable affecting the expectations parents hold. Independent of sex, lower-class mothers were less permissive about aggression toward themselves and other children, and were more restrictive and punitive toward aggressors (Sears *et al.*, 1957, p. 254). Although parents expect youngsters to know how to defend themselves physically—even when they are 2 and 3—social class differences about physical aggression become more evident as children grow. Middle-class children are expected to move from physical to verbal means, while physical means remain more acceptable to lower-class groups.

Along with aggression, the whole area of emotional expression has heavy cultural influences. As in the case of all the above expectations, this is a mixture of cultural and personal pressures. Age and sex are again factors. The younger the child, the more permissive the parent toward "explosions" of negative feelings and the more acceptant of physical affectional demonstrations. As children grow, they are expected to be less demonstrative in middle-class families—in terms of both negative and positive feelings. Words become substitutes for actions.

BOYS AS "FROGS AND SNAILS, AND PUPPY-DOG'S TAILS." This bit of folklore reflects a common attitude toward boys' behavior. The boy child is expected to be rougher and rowdier, expected not to cry about "little things," and to be able to "take care of himself" physically; in general, to emulate the role of man in its most elemental sense. Consequently, there is more acceptance of aggression in boys.

A prime problem in the early formative years for boys is that they have not too much contact with male models. Since identification is a major way in which the young child learns about and shapes himself, the lack of father-figures during much of this early time poses problems and questions for us. The boy child learns what is expected of him as a boy largely from his mother, so that he receives feminine perceptions of maleness. Research has shown that mothers have wide varieties of sex-role expectations. The boy, to some degree, receives his instruction "secondhand," and gets images of maleness that not only reflect general cultural images but also, and probably more significantly, reflect his mother's perception of appropriate male behavior. This is compounded of her images of her father, her perceptions of her husband, and her hopes and aspirations. So we have the strange situation in early childhood (as well as in primary school for many children) that boys learn boyness first from the feminine point of view.

GIRLS AS "SUGAR AND SPICE . . ." Cultural stereotypes for young girls seem to cut across class lines more than those for boys. Except in the area of sexual modesty, where lower-class mothers are stricter and more punitive, the individual differences from family to family are greater than the differences between social-class groups.

The girl has a much clearer and more consistent image of her sex role presented to her than does the boy. She is able to see mother (or mother-substitute in the form of baby sitter, maid, or nursery-school teacher) behave throughout the day. We mentioned above (and will discuss more thoroughly in the next chapter) the role of identification in learning appropriate sex behavior. The girl *sees* how women behave; the boy is *told* how men *should* behave. Sears also found that mothers tend to be more indulgent and warmer toward girls during infancy, and to use love and praise rather than physical punishment as control devices (Sears *et al.*, 1957, pp. 401-405). In terms of the communication and learning of expectations,

we would expect that girls during this early developmental period would have an easier time of it.

STANDARD-SETTING AS A COMPLEX. It is evident that our concept of individuality permeates what research shows about the kinds of standards parents hold for children as boys and girls begin the process of developing. While there are broad cultural images which play roles in defining what the child should become, these are highly modified within any given family by the personal views of the parents, particularly the mother's. We can say that the child's perception and acceptance of his own sex will be determined by the perceptions held by others in his family. These, in turn, are compounded by the transactions in their personal experiences between person and culture. Each family presents to the child his first image of himself, and this image grows out of the adult's perception of the culture in which he lives.

Summary

In this chapter we have looked at the family setting which surrounds the child at birth and, along with his organism, sets the stage and provides the materials for his self-development. We have seen that the family is not a simple mechanical unit directly reflecting the society. We have seen that it is a highly dynamic organization, with (1) a network of interpersonal relationships which are basically emotional in tone, (2) a set of goals, values, and aspirations, not necessarily in the awareness of the parents, which affect the ways in which the infant and child will be treated, and (3) the infant himself, with his rhythm of activity and rest, his needs and urges, his sex and appearance.

We have seen that these factors cannot be isolated from each other in the actual life of the family, and that all the behavior of family members takes place in the interactional field where these forces are in dynamic relation to each other.

Let's turn now to the child himself in these early days, before he has established his identity and before he is aware of himself. We will look at how he matures, how he experiences and develops his self-system, and how he blends within his own organization the many factors which influence his development.

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62 Human Development

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The Emergence of "I"

The Organizing Processes at Work

In Chapter 1, we have said that the development of the self-system depends upon two major processes—differentiating-integrating and perceiving. Both of these are transactional, involving both the organism and the environment. We have also said that the infant has a drive, or urge, to create order in his world, to assign meanings to events, to create stability, and to push toward higher and higher levels of organization. In this chapter, we will consider these organizing processes at work in the development of the self-system up to the point where the infant conceives of himself, however vaguely, as a person with some stability.

The Development of Motor Control

As we have seen, the infant possesses at birth a certain degree of organization and is also more influenced by internal than external stimuli. The process of motor control development illustrates one way in which the infant, through his increasing ability to differentiate and integrate, develops some control over himself and his environment. This development, while having strong biological components, is not purely a matter of maturation, or the unfolding of biological development without the influence of experience or learning. We need to keep two factors in focus: (1) the purposiveness of this process of extending control and (2) its transactional nature.

DIRECTION OF DEVELOPMENT. Research clearly shows that the direction of control proceeds along two major axes: cephalocaudal and

proximodistal. The infant's head region is more highly developed than his extremities. Coordination proceeds downward from the head and outward from the center line. The oral region is highly sensitive to tactile stimuli at birth, a condition which is essential to meeting hunger needs. The mouth is, thus, a major communication zone for the infant. Everything gets tested, tasted, and experienced orally during this period. Indeed, the infant would take literally the advice of Sir Francis Bacon that "some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested. . . ." The whole head region is more highly developed than other parts of the body. Even in size, the head is one-fourth the new-born infant's total length.

As we move down the vertical axis of the body, we find that sphincter control is not necessarily established before the child is well into his second year, or even later. And, moving along the horizontal axis, we find the infant making total arm and leg movements before he is able to move or control his feet and hands independently.

Generally, increasing organization means a reduction of extraneous movement, a trend in the direction from grosser to finer movements, a trend from involuntary to voluntary control.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS DEVELOPMENT. We can see that the infant is actively engaged in the process of organizing and controlling himself while, at the same time, he is beginning to create some order in his world. The more organized his motor responses become, the freer the infant is to divert energies into other experiences, widening his horizons. What he is able to see is partly dependent upon how much head control he has; what he is able to get into his mouth depends not only on what his parents leave within his reach but also on how well he can grasp and retain it. The infant's world is constantly and rapidly expanding as he gains control over his own muscles.

Accompanying this rapid expansion in horizons—a change from virtual helplessness at birth to an ability to walk at approximately 1 to 1½ (See Fig. 4.1)—is a wide variety of feeling tones. The beginnings of feelings of adequacy and achievement may be found in the infant's experiences with his own body, his efforts to make it do what he wishes. Along with this, the parents' provision of experi-

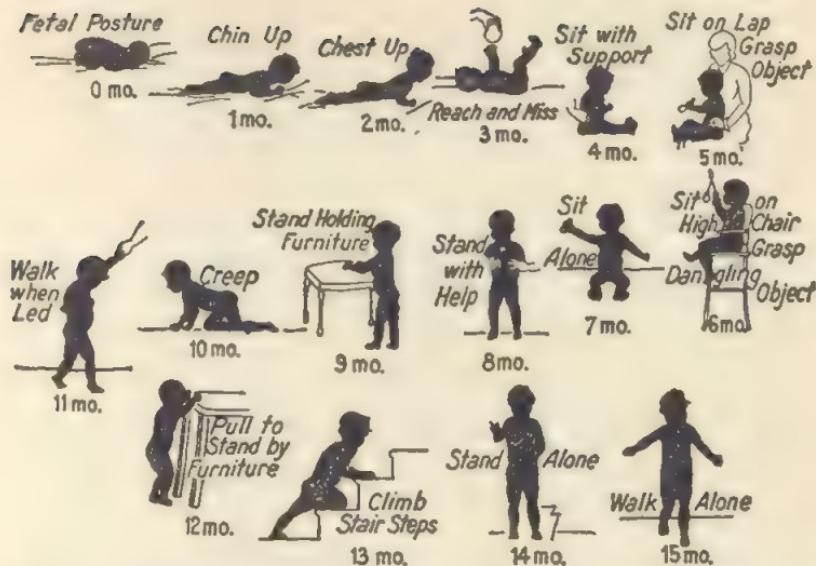


Fig. 4.1. The motor sequence. Age in months should be seen as approximate; the sequence of development corresponds closely with other research findings. Many American children today would tend to exceed these age norms. (Reprinted from *The First Two Years, A Study of Twenty-five Babies*, Mary M. Shirley, Vol. II, Intellectual Development. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis. Copyright 1933 by the University of Minnesota. Used by permission.)

ences and opportunities—from toys to space—and their words of praise and encouragement, may be significant factors not only in the development of control but also, and more significantly, in the beginnings of the child's feelings about himself.

The Development of "Meanings"

Accompanying the increasing neuromuscular control of the infant is the process of assigning "meanings" to events. A "meaning" is defined here as a cue to action or a response accompanied by a feeling tone, ranging from comfort and satisfaction to discomfort and heightened tension; that is, the child begins to recognize that some act is symbolic of a coming event which affects him. He may see his mother approaching with a bottle; he may be lifted up into the bathinette; he may experience wetness. In each case, he learns that another event, either pleasant or unpleasant, will follow. This does

not, and should not, imply any high level of thought, but it does suggest the beginnings of cognition. The child assigns meanings by establishing a relationship between himself and the objects and people in his world. It involves a sorting-out process, a differentiating process, a movement from a blooming, buzzing world of isolated, unconnected sensations toward an organized, stabilized, limitedly predictable world.

The developing degree of control over his own body permits the infant to begin the exploration of himself and his world, through which he acquires meanings.

EXPLORING THE PHYSICAL WORLD. One of the most important ways in which the infant explores his environment is through tactile communication. This begins at birth, and is concentrated for some time around the mouth. Vision is poor; the ability to grasp, hold, and let go not fully functioning until about the eighth month. The infant learns that some objects are hard, some soft; some too large, some small; some satisfy hunger, others soothe aching gums. Gradually, the objects begin to assume a quality of permanence to him. The bottle or breast is differentiated fairly early in the sequence. We can tell that these objects are stable because the infant makes consistent responses to them.

As he gains control over his arms and hands, he explores the world of his crib. He reaches out and touches the dangling cradle gym and finds it moves to his touch. As he attempts to do it again and again, he is able gradually to grasp it at will and produce the effect that came at first by chance. Through tactile communication and increased motor control the infant begins to establish order in his world. He develops the ability to make certain events occur; he knows that the appearance of certain objects means increased comfort; he learns that certain tactile sensations—such as satiny blanket, warm bath water, mother's arms around him—are highly pleasurable. He learns, further, that some of these events occur with regularity, and he can begin to predict them.

The boundaries of the infant's world increase when creeping and crawling begin. He enters his individual "space age," analogous in his development to the leap man took when the New World was discovered or the first Sputnik launched.

He is no longer confined to objects that come to him; he can now

go to his world. This is not an unmixed blessing. Previously, his experiences with his environment, through mouth and hands and body surfaces, have been controlled without his knowledge. The censorship of materials was accomplished *before* they reached his vicinity. Mother, in trying to protect him, didn't place him near electrical outlets or give him toys that could hurt him. In terms of the appearance of her home, a child in a crib could hardly damage furniture or bric-a-brac.

Now the house gets "child-proofed." The child's discovery of the physical world—and of himself in relation to it—is influenced by his parents' attitudes toward safety and property, and by their notions of what and how children at this stage learn. In one house, all dangerous, breakable, or precious objects are placed out of reach, and the crawling child is given free movement to explore. In another house, he is placed for long hours in a "play pen," which offers very restricted movement at a time when movement has so much meaning. In a third house, he is met with a barrage of "don't touch!" and similar commands, or with hand-slapping, or with sudden pickups and relocation. These, of course, represent extremes. Probably each house offers a mixture of all three. The child's concepts of himself, his feelings of satisfaction and adequacy, his developing notions of mother and father, his sense of the world as safe and interesting—all are related to the way he experiences, and is encouraged or permitted to experience, this growing physical world.

EXPLORING THE INTERPERSONAL WORLD. Concurrent with the expansion of physical limits, the infant's interpersonal horizons broaden. During the first year, he develops from being influenced mainly by internal stimuli at birth through seeing parents as objects meeting his physiological needs, to the point where he responds and becomes social in his behavior. Throughout this time the infant is establishing a basic orientation toward people—an orientation which Erikson calls "basic trust" (Erikson, 1951). We have already seen how the feeding situation, viewed as a transactional process, is a phase in the establishment of feelings of comfort. The control situation, described above in relation to exploration of the physical world, also plays a role in the development of these attitudes.

All of the infant's contacts with people influence these attitudes toward self and others. Sullivan has coined the phrase "significant

others" (Sullivan, 1953) to describe the people who are crucial in the child's early development. Before he is able to walk, before he has language, the infant has developed a crude differentiation of his own limits and is able to perceive others as being distinct from him. Of course, he is a long way from any awareness of the personality of others or of the motivations and separate lives of others, but he is able to respond to different people in different ways.

In relation to his mother: "By about 6 months . . . certain objects have taken on some degree of permanence and reliability, notably his mother and his own body. . . . He now counts on the bundle of warm sensations and visual patterns that other people see as his mother to continue existing even when she is absent" (Stone and Church, 1957, p. 89). Many a grandmother, attempting to pick up the 9-month-old baby whom she has seen only occasionally, has experienced the shock of having the baby kick and scream and squirm to escape her loving arms. The baby's interpersonal world is small and peopled with those with whom he is familiar. Strangers are unwelcome because he has no meanings to assign to them. He doesn't recognize Grandma as one who loves him; he only knows she is unfamiliar, and therefore unpredictable. He needs time to "warm up" to her, to watch her from afar, and to come to her when he is ready.

In this respect, exploration of physical and interpersonal worlds are quite different. The child reaches out to explore his physical surroundings, although he seeks and needs to come back to the familiar; he does not reach out, from about 9 to 15 months, to explore new people.

If we look at this through the child's eyes, it makes sense. He has just come to some crude differentiation between himself and others; he is keenly aware that people, and the way they treat him, strongly affect his feelings of comfort and happiness; he is still establishing his basic trust with his parents. This is enough to do without being faced with new people who suddenly overwhelm him with unsought-for attention and affection.

Exploration of his interpersonal world is rooted in his needs for the familiar and the predictable, and only gradually extends beyond the immediate family. Within the family he develops meanings about people and self through the channels mentioned earlier: tactile communication and motor control. As he becomes more social, he responds to affection by giving affection; as his motor control increases,

he can play social games, such as pat-a-cake. Peekaboo and hide-and-seek delight him, and delight the adult too, who soon discovers the child's fascinating concepts of space and body. The adult sees that, in the child's view, if he cannot see the adult he thinks the adult cannot see him (although all but his face may be in full view). "I see you" means to the child "I see your face." This mutual and reciprocal delight in games, in the giving and receiving of affection, in the accomplishment of new things, all serve to strengthen the emotional ties between the parents and the child, and to aid him in the establishment of concepts of himself as lovable and adequate.

EXPLORING THE BODY. Anyone watching babies sticking their fingers into their mouths and, a little later, putting their feet (one at a time, of course) into their mouths, is aware of the great pleasure the infant receives from these experiences. Throughout this first developmental period, the infant is experiencing what is him and what is not-him through the process of feeling, handling, and tasting. As Sullivan states, the thumb in the mouth is the classical example of the body experiencing itself, or what he calls "self-sentience." "The mouth feels the thumb and the thumb feels the mouth; that is self-sentience. This is the point of departure for an enormous development" (Sullivan, 1953, p. 141). When one part of the infant's body touches another and the infant experiences both feeling and being felt, we have self-sentience. Knowledge about the self-sentient is elaborated into the child's conception of his body.

The infant is experiencing "me" and "not-me" in a bodily sense from as early as 5 months on. Since, at least in middle-class America, he is diapered except when in a bath, his experiences in handling genital and anal areas are limited, and occur mostly when being changed or bathed. Again, the transactional, interpersonal nature of this becomes significant. The child is not alone, to enjoy himself in his exploration, to know kinesthetic satisfaction. His mother is not a mere onlooker, a passive observer, but a participant in the situation. Her attitudes about sex, about bodily processes, about elimination and waste, are part of the situational field in which the infant comes to learn about his body. The meanings he assigns to fondling his penis, or seeing it erect, grow out of the transaction between the kinesthetic satisfactions he receives and the behavior of his mother. If she permits the explorations, accepting it as a normal part of the

development of her child, the meanings he connects with his body and its functions will probably be healthy. That is, he will conceive of his body as good, of all parts of his body as good, of bodily processes as normal and natural activities. He will have no guilt or shame at this level of development.

If, on the other hand, he is prevented or stopped when he attempts to fondle himself, or is treated with harsh words and facial expressions which convey shock and rejection, the infant will develop unhealthy views about his body. Free of his diapers as he grows, he is bound to discover that the genital zone is pleasure-producing. We mentioned in the previous chapter that, according to the Sears study, the mother saw her role as preventing sexual stimulation in infancy and early childhood. Faced with bodily satisfaction on the one hand and the condemnation on the other, the child is placed in a situation in which he develops concepts of his body (or at least of part of his body) as being somehow evil. Further, if this part of him is evil, but enjoyable, what is he to make of this? His experiences with himself and his mother do not seem to equip him (according to Sears) with the labels (culturally-accepted meanings) for handling this confusion. The origins of guilt, of shame, of unhealthy sexual attitudes may possibly be attributed to this initial period of bodily exploration and the parent-child situation in which it occurs. Certainly, clinical evidence suggests that this is so.

Bodily exploration not only leads to the development of the differentiation of "me" from "not-me," and the meanings attached to "me" in the area of the goodness or badness of the body, but this exploration also aids the infant in determining the things he can do with his body—the effect his body has on the "not-me" which surrounds him. We see infants and young children repeating a performance again and again. The mere act of repetition seems to be rewarding to them. Why is this so? We may infer that it is related to their attempts to handle their world, to arrange, order, and predict their environment. If I (the infant) can do this act at will, and it "feels good" to do (and brings appropriate adult approval) why then, I'll keep trying it. When we turn to language we can see this as a part of the process by which language is learned.

Of course, there is the danger of reading adult thoughts into infants' minds. We must recognize that these are not intellectual, rational activities of the infant, but only inferences from his behavior.

Exploration of the body, then, contributes to the development of meanings about its value as an agent in producing satisfaction in relation both to itself and the world. Acceptance of the body as part of "me," and particularly as a "good" part of "me," is determined by the way in which the infant's behavior is experienced by himself (self-sentience) and the way in which he perceives others reacting to his explorations.

DEVELOPING "ANCHORAGE POINTS." Just as the navigator at sea uses his instruments to find his location, the child, too, needs to establish his location in his field. He develops what would correspond to a map of the area in which he lives. His map is not limited to a representation of geography—but is a representation of the interpersonal field as well. This map of the infant we can call his perceptual field. It is personal, and it provides him with the sense of stability and order he needs.

Anchorage points are to the self as the stars are to the navigator; they orient him in his world. They are essential to normal self-development. Hebb and his colleagues have been doing research on perceptual deprivation. They have reported many interesting findings about what happens to people when they are deprived of normal perceptual stimulation. Although this is not the place to describe Hebb's position, his finding, in a study of brainwashing, that "merely taking away the usual sights, sounds, and bodily contacts from a healthy university student for a few days can shake him, right down to the base: can disturb his personal identity. . . ." (Hebb, 1958, p. 111) can be utilized here. It seems to suggest that throughout life one has to keep himself oriented to his world, and that perceptual stimulation is a basic part of this orientation process. The adult has a whole host of orientations which depend upon continuous perceptual information from his environment. The open-energy concept may help us to understand that the person is always immersed in his surroundings, and his self-orientation is related to his orientation in the real world. The perceptual anchorage points provide the adult with the stable world he needs. The child, too, needs a stable environment, and the process of establishing anchorage points begins early.

What are the primary anchorage points of the infant, by which he orients himself? They are threefold: first, his body; second, the mothering ones or "significant others"; and third, his physical en-

vironment. Each is value- and feeling-laden. The value of the anchorage point is derived from the degree of satisfaction, comfort, and predictability the infant has received in relation to it. The anchorage point of mothering ones, for example, may be "good mother" or "bad mother"; it is not just "mother."

By the end of the first year, both his body and his mother have become fairly stable elements in his perceptual field. His physical world begins a rapid expansion at this time. This does not mean that his image, knowledge, or acceptance of his body and his mother are crystallized and complete. His basic orientations, however, his knowing that this is "me" and that is "my mother," along with the emotions which are a part of knowing, are somewhat stable. His notions, we may assume, are primitive and vague. What takes place after this is elaboration, further differentiation and integration, and modification.

The development of additional anchorage points continues throughout life. As in the beginning, people and objects become differentiated out of the welter of stimuli and are assigned fairly stable places on the growing child's map as a result of the meanings they and their behavior have for him. He learns patterns of behavior and action in relation to them. These initial anchorage points always remain central to the self; and the new ones which are acquired throughout life are, to a large degree, selected and evaluated in relation to these early ones.

Meanings are learned through the transactional process of exploring the interpersonal and the physical world, and one's own body. In time, the infant learns that certain objects and people are associated with certain experiences. Through learning, these people and objects become known and take on meaning to the child. Certain people, and the child himself, acquire so many meanings to him, that these form a constellation, or cluster. For example, mother is perceived as cuddler, feeder, soft voice, etc. Gradually, mother as a totality is conceptualized. The infant learns to predict and expect certain behaviors and feelings in relation to her, and she becomes an anchorage point he uses to establish himself in his world.

The infant's perceptual field is composed of those aspects of his total environment to which he has assigned meanings. It is organized around the various anchorage points he has extracted from his experiences. The word "meaning," used earlier, was defined as a clue

to action. The infant's perceptual field, then, is action-oriented. It enables him to know what to do, how to respond, what to expect. He perceives his world along two major dimensions: (1) what it can do to *him* and, later, (2) what he can do to *it*. In both dimensions, the orientation is toward action.

The actions he takes have results and these results are incorporated into new meanings, leading him to modify and enlarge his perceptual field. As this process continues, accompanied by the internal maturational process, he reaches the next "break-through" on his road to maturity, the break-through that enables him to extend his meaning-system widely. This is the development of language.

The Development of Language

Although the infant can vocalize, he does not possess speech. He cannot communicate, either to himself or others, through this symbolic process.

Language development rests not only upon maturation of the organism, but also upon the familial environment. Indeed, in studying the individual, the latter is perhaps more significant. We need to understand something about the order in which language activity emerges, but we need to see this as *functional* in the life of the child, as a development which contributes heavily to the communication process between him and his family, and thus affects his self-development. We need to ask ourselves not only how does language develop, but what purposes, what functions does this development serve for the child?

TABLE 4.1

The Development of Language Activity by Age Levels

Activity	Age Range (in Months) at Which Item First Is Reported to Occur*	
	From	To
1. Vocalization	0.25	4
2. Cooing	2	6
3. Vocalization of feelings		
a. Discomfort	1	5.9
b. Pleasure	3	5.9

TABLE 4.1 (*Continued*)

Activity	Age Range (in Months) at Which Item First Is Reported to Occur ^a	
	From	To
c. Eagerness	5	5.6
d. Satisfaction	6.5	7
e. Recognition	7.4	8
4. Perceptual transactions		
a. Response to another's voice	1.3	4
b. Vocalizes to social stimulus	3.1	4
c. "Talks" to a person	6	
d. Imitates sounds	6	10
e. Imitates syllables (mamma)	11	11.7
5. Conceptual transactions I		
a. Understands gestures (e.g., bye-bye)	9	12
b. Listens with <i>selective</i> interest to familiar words	8.5	9
c. Differentiates words	9.8	10
d. Adjusts to and understands simple commands	10	15
e. Understands a demand and gesture	15	23
f. Responds to inhibitory words	12	20
6. Conceptual transactions II		
a. Names objects	17.4	22.5
b. Asks with words	17	18
c. Simple sentences	23	24
7. Self-reference		
a. Points to nose, eye, hair	18	
b. First pronoun	23	
c. Uses pronouns past and plural	36	

^a The age in months should be used merely as a guide to the order of occurrence rather than as a figure to be viewed as having any intrinsic merit as a yardstick. The *from* column indicates only that a researcher observed this behavior at the age cited, the *to* column indicates the first time another researcher observed this behavior. Other researchers found a particular behavior emerging any time between these two ages.

SOURCE: Adapted from Dorothea McCarthy, "Language Development in Children," in L. Carmichael, ed., *Manual of Child Psychology*, 1954, Wiley, pp. 499-502. Used by permission.

Table 4.1 summarizes the findings of eight research studies dealing with the order of emergence of language activity. It has been arranged so that one can see the progressive level of complexity in language activity up to the personal pronoun, but, more than that, it makes it possible to see how language serves the infant's developing self. We can see that his first essential communication is of feelings, and that discomfort seems to be expressed before pleasure. Expression of discomfort brings activity on the part of those who care for the child and enables the organism to maintain its steady state. While this is not true speech, it is communication.

Perceptual transactions, awareness of vocal stimuli and response to them (item 4 in Table 4.1) also begin very early, and thus establish still another link between parent and child. As the child responds, the parent feels closer to him, and this, in turn, elicits more attempts on the part of the parent to talk to, play with, and relate to the child. The child, then, is not a mere recipient; he is an active participant, contributing to the development of the climate of feeling which surrounds him.

The next higher level of communication, which occurs roughly in the last quarter of the first year, has been labeled in Table 4.1 as conceptual transactions, because it is clear that the child's response is in relation to the meaning of the words being used. It shows an *understanding* of the symbol itself, which is a higher order of differentiation than repetition of sounds or expression of feelings. This might be said to be the real beginning of language—when it is being used as a symbolic process. Words do not have dictionary definitions to the child; their meanings grow out of their usages in the family. Words are said in a tone of voice and are accompanied by gestures and actions. Meanings are derived from the total context. Further, words are learned or not learned, depending upon the family atmosphere.

As we saw in Chapter 3, the climate of feeling is perhaps the most important single variable in language development. Although Table 4.1 can give us information as to the order in which new experiences with language occur, it cannot tell us what individual meanings will develop in a given child. As we arrive at the point at which the child uses "I," we cannot determine from any table what this "I" means to him, what attitudes and feelings are bound up in it, what it includes or excludes. Normative studies cannot yield this kind of

information. In order to understand what "I" means, or what it might possibly represent, we have to shift our frame of reference to the individual child and study his behavior. As a guide in making such a shift, we can consider the roles language plays in development up to "I."

LANGUAGE AS A MEANS OF CLARIFYING MEANINGS. "Every individual speech performance is understandable only from the aspect of its relation to the function of the total organism in its endeavor to realize itself" (Goldstein, 1948, p. 21). How does the use of speech for this purpose operate in the infant? The infant's behavior is rooted in the present. He is moving from a world of hazy perception and unconnected stimuli toward an organized, somewhat more integrated environment we call his perceptual field. As he assigns meanings to events, and as he learns name words that have a constancy to him in terms of their action potential, he becomes more able to put things and people into place. The speech performance thus enhances his ability to differentiate and integrate. It enables him to do this not only spatially, but also temporally; that is, he can now use words to project himself forward into the future. As he develops, his language will enable him to speak of past events, and to recall and label past events as well.

While his world is a world only of images—and nonsymbolic—the degree of perceptual distortion and inaccurate communication is high. When he acquires meanings and assigns words to these meanings, the degree of this distortion is decreased. "Dog" represents all dogs—and all things he might do to dogs or that dogs might do to him; it embodies all his wants, hopes, and fears. Still, it is a classification word, and enables him to convey more clearly his perceptions of "dog" to mother, who can then respond to him. The use of words, combined with the parental response to them, clarifies meanings for the child and gives his world more integration.

We need to reiterate that meanings of words are not "intellectual" in the sense of being dictionary definitions. They are cues to action, and heavily tinged with feelings. The infant responds, as we all do, with *all* of himself, not just a part of himself. Each word he learns is thus colored by the emotional context in which it was experienced. Words are not neutral; they are symbols of events, objects, and people, and call forth in the child his total previous response to the

situation. What does "dog" mean? Depending upon the tone of voice, the gestures, and bodily movements, it may mean, "I'm scared, get me away, hold me and comfort me," or "I want to pet the dog, I like dogs, come here, dog." With the use of a word, the child conveys his total impression of dogs. He can then begin to reflect upon this impression; his mother can then aid him in the modification of his impression. He moves forward into a world of thought and concepts.

This development of language, this sharpening of his perceptions through the acquisition of symbols that enable him to describe, place, and recall, enables him to move toward self-realization. As other objects become more constant and can be symbolized, moving beyond the immediate, he himself becomes more constant and can become more clearly an object which can be symbolized to himself. His self-identity grows as the identity of others grow.

He calls himself, first, "Tommie," because this is the name that's been applied to him; next, he moves to self as object, "me do this"; and finally, perceiving of self as doer, "I do this." At each stage in this process, he has sharpened his meanings about self. His language both reflects this sharpening and provides him with the sharpening tool.

LANGUAGE AND NEW INTERPERSONAL HORIZONS. Another major function of speech in the infant is to provide him with the means for the establishment of interpersonal relations. Here, in particular, the nature of the interpersonal, transactional field of the family plays a decisive role in the determination of his development. The behavior of his parents toward his attempts to use language will either promote or retard his speech development. If they encourage him, speak often to him, and, most important of all, *listen* to him, his ability to express, to communicate, to symbolize and categorize will be enhanced. Most speech authorities are agreed that indifference, neglect, or emotional stress inhibit language development.

Language activity grows as the infant finds a warm, accepting emotional climate in the home. Again we have the cyclical pattern repeated: with acceptance, the child takes over the sounds of speech, then the understandings of the meanings of words, then the use of the words themselves; as he does this, and thus becomes more like his parents, he gains further acceptance, support, and encouragement from them. The initial impetus for growth is within the child, but

needs to be met by a nourishing environment in order for normal speech development to occur. "The average infant must be exposed to spoken language for about eight months before he begins to comprehend the speech of others . . . unless the child continues to identify with the talking human, unless he finds language enjoyable instead of threatening and anxiety-producing, he might reject the world of talking" (Myklebust, 1956, p. 164).

As the infant uses vocalizations and then words to express first his feelings and then his needs, as he responds to the voices of others, he feels more related to those around him. He strengthens the emotional bridge that already exists between him and his parents, and he begins to reinforce it from *his* side of the transactional field. As he learns to say "Mama," "Dada," and the like, he makes a tremendous emotional impact upon his parents and reaps the rewards in joy and affection. He, of course, finds this satisfying, so he repeats not only these words, but also other words he hears, and finds that language is a highly satisfying experience. This is quite apart from understanding the words; here we are concerned mainly with the feeling tones, the subtle connections that exist between people when they speak, apart from the words they use.

When the infant meets new adults, he uses this delightful new thing he has discovered and finds out, on the whole, that these other adults respond favorably to his efforts, too. They talk back to him, making the sounds he makes, using (by dictionary standards) nonsense syllables which are communicative and meaningful to the infant because they express feelings of delight, of interest, of rapport.

These two major functions of language, the clarification of meanings and expansion of interpersonal horizons, continue long past the period of infancy, as long as we live. What occurs in further development is increased complexity and higher levels of organization, but the dynamics remain the same.

The development of language in infancy is closely related to and, to some degree, dependent upon another phase of development, the process of identification.

The Identification Process

The behavior and development of the infant is many-faceted, and can be approached from several directions. Just as we turn a precious

stone, such as a diamond, around and around in our hands, holding it up to the light and admiring the beauty reflected from its many surfaces, so it is with understanding the developing self. We have approached this from several sides: organic and genetic contributions, transactional relationships, and the role of language. We have seen that each of these is only one facet, a contributing variable in the total picture. We turn now to still another facet, but one which perhaps serves to unite and organize, acts as a catalyst, and gives a framework upon which all these other processes, in varying degrees, depend. This is the process of identification, the heart of the socializing processes.

The Nature and Functions of Identification

Identification has been defined as that process by which a person views himself as being like another and then behaves accordingly (G. Murphy, 1947, p. 989).

In infancy, this process does not proceed *after* the child has defined himself, but is, instead, a major way in which he tackles the task of self-definition. He perceives or views himself as a variety of others, takes on their behaviors as he sees them, tries them out, selects aspects of their roles as meaningful to him and *incorporates* them into his own image. The child becomes "mother" or "father" or "other" to himself, emulates them in so far as he is able, and develops a common ground with them.

This development of a sense of identity with those around us is the structure upon which all language, for example, is built. Even talking birds talk because they have developed a feeling of identity with the human beings around them! Even more crucial than language development, however, is the "social sense," the "human-ness" of man, his need to belong. Society grows out of the development of this sense of identity. Indeed, man would have no awareness of self, no self-system apart from it. He only gains his identity as a man through this process of identification. Some of us so develop this sense that we can perceive all men as being brothers; others restrict themselves to narrower definitions. In either case, the ways in which this was achieved are the same.

Let us explore this notion of "incorporation." The child does not literally assume a facet of a parent; he incorporates *his* perception and *his* understanding of the parent's behavior. If we look back at

how meanings are developed and anchorage points derived, we can see that identification does not mean being like, in any exact sense, another person. One parent, viewing the misbehavior of a child, may say to the other, "That's because he's just like you!" This is not quite correct. No one is "just like" another person, and no child is a mirror image, bodily or in his behavior, of his parents. He sees himself as being like another, but he does not become the other. He becomes, for the time in which he plays the particular role, the other *as he perceives the other*. Sullivan, in his discussion of the beginnings of the self-system, carefully points this up. "The idea that one can, in some way, take in another person to become a part of one's personality is one of the evils that come from overlooking the fact that between a doubtless real 'external object' and a doubtless real 'my mind' there is a group of processes—the act of perceiving, understanding, and what not—which is intercalated, which is highly subject to past experience and increasingly subject to foresight of the neighboring future. Therefore, it would in fact be one of the great miracles of all time if our perception of another person were, in any greatly significant number of respects, accurate or exact" (Sullivan, 1953, p. 167).

Further, incorporation implies an already ongoing self. The infant's identifications begin before this point. In a sense, he and his parents are one, not because he has incorporated them into him, but because he has not yet differentiated fully self from other. He and the world are one, and all are parts of each other.

Like all the other facets we have discussed, this, too, is not a one-way street, but a transactional situation. The infant identifies with the parents, and the parents identify with him. They, too, do not necessarily see him as fully differentiated from them. They see him, often, as extensions of themselves, as part of their selves, and they invest their feelings, hopes, and aspirations in him. They shift their unfulfilled dreams to him, and glow in his accomplishments as though they were their own. There is, then, a mutual identification.

Accompanying this viewing of "self as though like another" is the process of *projection*, "by virtue of which experiences arising from one's own sensory processes are felt to belong to others, the motives of others are judged by analogy with one's own, and the world is peopled with individuals essentially like oneself" (G. Murphy, 1947, p. 496). This is probably more functional in the behavior of adults than in the infant, but the parents teach this actively to the child by

precept. For example, they'll tell the child how they feel when he does things that please or displease them. A little later, they'll ask him, when he has hit another child (or them), "How do you think it feels to get hit?" or they'll hit him and say, "That's how it feels." In some families, they'll attempt to let the child know that they see how *he* feels, but mostly they educate the child to feel as others feel.

A basic problem in this evolution of self through identification is enabling the very young child to acknowledge his own feelings as being his, apart from the feelings his parents want him to have. Rogers discusses the case of the infant whose parents bring home a new sibling. The infant strikes the new baby, and experiences satisfaction, but then the parents step in to convince him that he really loves his baby brother. Because the parental attitude is perceived by the child as correct, because his needs for love and acceptance are tied up with identifying with his parents, he feels that their interpretations are correct and that his own feeling of satisfaction is not real. "In this way the values which the infant attaches to experience become divorced from his own organismic functioning and experience is valued in terms of the attitudes held by his parents" (Rogers, 1951, p. 500). In such fashion, the child's values are shaped by the nature of the transactional experience.

What the child needs, as a part of learning to feel as others feel so that he will have a healthy acceptance of himself and others, are situations in which his own feelings are seen as valid by his parents. This doesn't mean that hitting the new baby is condoned, but that the parent is able to accept that this is satisfying to the child, while it is *not* satisfying to the parent. This would not threaten the child with loss of love, would permit him to continue to identify with his parents, but would enable him to see that his behavior (hitting the baby) is not acceptable. Rather than telling him he is bad, or that he really *must* love the new baby, ways need to be provided in which he can safely direct his aggression. Situations should be created so that he can see baby as enhancing to him, and can begin to identify not only with parents but also with the baby as a member of the family. While he still cannot feel as others feel, seeing them as completely separate and distinct, he can feel as his parents feel, experiencing their feelings as part of his own.

The process of identification contributes to the development of self by: (1) enabling the child to develop a sense of identity with

others, (2) enabling the parents to feel closer to the child, (3) providing the child with models of behavior (i.e., parents) upon which to build his own, and (4) providing him with information from the responses of others to his behavior, which he can experience as being his own feelings. Later on, he no longer needs the behavior of others as a cue—he is able to feel how they would feel without their presence. The latter point can be understood as the beginnings of conscience, or what Freud labeled the "superego." It is the valuing process by which the child experiences behavior as good or bad on the basis of the feelings he perceives others as having. Since how *others* feel is inextricably interwoven with how *he* feels, and since self and other are not clearly differentiated at this time, his perception of their feelings are also his feelings. In this sense, he incorporates them into him.

IDENTIFICATION WITH THE MOTHERING ONE. The infant's primary identification is with the mother or those who serve in place of the mother. The process begins probably about the middle of the first year, when mother is becoming an anchorage point, when her existence in the child's eyes is not merely related to her presence, and when he knows he can bring her into being through his behavior.

We, of course, cannot know what the infant really perceives, but it is possible that the child's earliest notions of mother are of her as a part of himself. With the exploration and establishment of bodily limits through self-sentience, the mother becomes a more or less fixed object in the field—not part of his body, but still not separate and distinct from him, still not a person in her own right. The mother affects his bodily state—of comfort and discomfort—and, to some degree, he cannot predict what she will do or when she will appear. Gradually, he perceives her, although still crudely, as another person, and here begins the process of imitating her behavior because it is her behavior. Before this, imitation is indiscriminate; now it becomes more focused. We see this imitation in making sounds, in attempting to feed oneself, in smiling, and in many areas of behavior.

The child also identifies with other family members, but his strongest emotional ties during this period are with the mother.

In the next chapter we will look further at identification, and see how its direction and operation is modified as the child moves out of infancy into, and through, the preschool years.

The Emergence of Self-Awareness

The culmination of all the child's previous experiences during infancy is the emergence of awareness of self. This might be considered the demarcation point between infancy and childhood. It is an emergent—a new thing created out of social experience. As we have seen, self-awareness does not exist at birth, but grows out of the combination of maturational forces and environmental experiences. The nature of the individual's awareness of himself is highly personal and unique, although its processes are shared in common.

The Self-System as a Product of Experience

What particular experiences shape the formation of the self-system? What contributes to the child's sense of self? Primarily, it develops from the transactional process, in particular the evaluational interactions between the infant and the people who surround him, and his own evaluation of his body and his behavior.¹ The child's self, and his awareness of himself, emerges, then, from the total experience of the infant with himself, with his physical surroundings, and with his interpersonal world. He seeks to enhance his feelings of comfort and stability and to avoid those periods of discomfort and strain which occur in his daily life. "In the attempt to avoid the feeling of discomfort produced by disapproval, the child tends to develop and emphasize those aspects of himself which are pleasing to the significant adults. He will focus alertness on those of his performances which bring approval and disapproval. And out of this focusing of alertness the self is evolved" (Thompson, 1950, p. 213).

The self becomes an object, an anchorage point, a configuration of meanings in precisely the same manner in which other people and objects develop meanings in the child's perceptual field. When we examine the child's language, we find him referring to himself by name (as object) before referring to himself as "I" (as subject). While he may—and probably does—achieve a sense of personal identity before he is able to handle the complexities of "I," it is this shift in language which enables him to become more precise in his self-definition.

¹ For a more thorough discussion of this idea of evaluational interaction, see L. Murphy, 1944, p. 666; Mead, 1940, p. 142; Rogers, 1951, p. 498.

The evolution of self-awareness is essentially a process of differentiation-integration. Awareness of self is experienced as a concomitant of awareness of others. As the child identifies with others, he also differentiates more clearly between self and other. As he imitates others, and tries out behaviors, he evaluates their effect on him and on those being imitated; his sense of self grows through the combination, closely associated in time, of behaving and evaluating.

Through exploring, identifying, talking, and feeling, each child develops a crude sense of selfhood sometime during the second year of life. By this time, self and other have been differentiated. The infant now seeks not only to maintain his organic existence, but also to enhance and preserve this self, which is both more than and less than his body. As G. H. Mead states: "The self has a character which is different from the physiological organism proper. The self is something which has a development; it is not initially there at birth, but arises in the process of social experience and activity" (Mead, 1940, p. 135).

The Acceptance of Self

What kind of self-picture will the child possess? According to the theoretical viewpoint of this book, this will depend essentially upon the nature of his previous experiences with his body and his world. If, on the whole, life has been a satisfying experience for him, he will develop a picture of self that will be one of adequacy and security. He will then perceive and conceive of himself as being loved and being lovable, as being able to do what his parents expect of him and what he expects of himself. We may then postulate that his basic orientation toward self and the world will be one of basic trust.

If, on the other hand, his background of experience has been harsh, deprived, inconsistent, or cold, he may develop either a confused, conflicted view or a negative view. It may be difficult to conceive of a very young child as possessing negative feelings, but clinical evidence is full of examples of even so extreme a nature as autistic children who did not respond to human beings as people and lived in a completely private world without much communication with people.

A deprived environment not only retards language development, but also affects the essential orientation of the child. Bender's study

of school children who had missed family life in their first three years revealed that "the behavior remains always *infantile*. . . . There is primary defect in ability to *identify* in their relationship with people . . ." (Bender, 1946, p. 76).

The child's acceptance of self cannot be seen clearly by the adult from the verbal behavior of the 2- or 3-year-old. It can be inferred from his behavior in response to adults, to other children, to new materials, and to new experiences. To a limited degree, since the child's facility with language is so meager, his speech behavior may enable us to gain only some tentative notions of the child's concept of self. An excellent example of this approach is the work of Ames at the Yale Clinic of Child Development. She used the selective observational method. A trained observer, who is not only thoroughly familiar with behavior to be expected at various age levels but also thoroughly trained in nursery observation, watches the unselected play in a guidance nursery through a one-way vision screen. The notations in the observer's notebook consist only of those behaviors of the child himself, or of others toward the child which appear to have particular significance for the given research (Ames, 1952, p. 193). She observed and recorded 2-year-olds giving themselves verbal directions, such as "Jump," "Rock," "Go up dis way." We might possibly infer from this their inability to see self as subject and object at the same time in any clear fashion. It is too sophisticated a concept for them to talk to themselves silently. Her data also indicate children's self-acceptance through such behavior as "chant or sing, smile or laugh to self to accompany gross motor play" in the self-initiated activities of this age-group (Ames, 1952, p. 200).

The Openness of the Self-System

The child, sometime during his second or third year, calls himself "I," has a rudimentary sense of identity, and a constellation of attitudes about this "I." Does this mean that his self is a well-organized, well-integrated system, essentially fixed and not subject to change? Or is this self still essentially a fluid system? Although writers seem to agree that the self is a fairly stable organization, it is still an extremely open system at this point. The child seems to have evolved a basic orientation toward self and world, but this is by no means fixed and unalterable. The presence of this structure of self need not imply self is fixed, crystallized, and sealed in the book of doom.

The child's sense of self is still to be heavily influenced by further circumstances throughout life, particularly throughout childhood and adolescence. What is established is the basic framework from which the growing child will perceive and interpret his world. The self is now not merely a product of transactions but an active participant in the transactional process, an active agent in the field.

The Meaning of "I" in Behavior and Development

"Whatever the self is, it becomes a center, an anchorage point, a standard of comparison, an ultimate real. Inevitably, it takes its place as a supreme value. . . . In a fundamental sense, the self is right" (G. Murphy, 1947, p. 498). The child's sense of himself, his "I," the picture he holds of who he is, affects the way he organizes and assigns meanings to all his future experiences. His perceptions will be oriented toward enhancing and maintaining the self he has already developed. While at birth he possessed potentialities to become many different kinds of persons, he is now more or less embarked upon a particular course. He has, of course, not reached what the aviator calls his point of no return, but the general limits of the range of his potentialities have now been laid down. His "I" will now weigh and evaluate, choose and discard, interpret and integrate his experience to preserve, protect, and defend this ultimate value, this self that has emerged.

The "I" thus assumes the key role in further development and behavior. While the evaluations of others will continue to influence the child, these will now be perceived and screened by his own evaluational agency, his self-image.

How the child sees himself—in spite of its crudities, its lack of sophistication, its gaps and distortions—becomes, by this third year of life, a potent factor in influencing what he will become as a person.

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From "I" to the "Three R's"

Changes in Bodily Factors

Changes in Size and Rate of Growth

During the first few years of his life, the child grows in size slowly but steadily. Although published charts of height and weight may be slightly out of date because each generation shows gains in the rate of development, they offer indices from which we can learn about orderly development. Table 5.1 is based upon data originally assembled in the 1940s by Stuart and Meredith and adapted by Watson and Lowrey. It has been estimated that for the last 80 years gains in height have been at the rate of 0.5 to 1.0 centimeters (approximately .2 to .4 inches) per decade. Thus, to make Table 5.1 accurate for use in the 1960s, .4 to .8 inches should be added to each figure.

An important generalization can be induced from a study of the data in the table. First, the range of individual differences in body size increases with age so that children in the tenth and ninetieth percentiles are farther apart at age 6 than they were at age 2. Thus, each child becomes unique in his particular growth, although the over-all group pattern is one of steady growth. The slow-growing (tenth percentile) boy of 6 resembles more the fast-growing (ninetieth percentile) boy of 4 in body size than he does his own age-mates. This fact about growth is often overlooked by parents, teachers, and other adults who tend to stress the age of the child and to neglect his actual developmental status, which is important to the child and

TABLE 5.1

Height and Weight Gains, Ages 2-6

Age	Boys		Girls	
	10 Percentile	90 Percentile	10 Percentile	90 Percentile
HEIGHT IN INCHES				
2	33	36	32.25	35.75
2½	34.75	38	34	38
3	36.25	39.5	35.5	39.75
3½	37.75	41	37	41.5
4	39	42.75	38.5	43
4½	40.25	44.25	39.75	44.75
5	41.25	45.5	41	45.5
5½	42.5	47.25	42.5	46.75
6	43.75	48.5	43.5	48
WEIGHT IN POUNDS				
2	24.75	32	23.5	31.75
2½	26.5	34.5	25.5	35.5
3	28.75	36.75	27.5	37.5
3½	30.5	39	29.5	40.5
4	32	41.5	31.25	43.5
4½	33.25	44	33	46.75
5	36	48.25	35.5	48.75
5½	38.75	53	38	51.25
6	41	56.5	39.5	54.25

SOURCE: Combined from Tables 9 A-D in *Growth and Development of Children*, E. H. Watson and G. H. Lowrey, Year Book Publishers, 1955. Used by permission.

influences his self-evaluation (see section on self-evaluating in Chapter 6).

Another important generalization about growth during early childhood is that this is the time when the rate of growth in size levels off. Weight gains are stabilized after 24 months and height increments are stabilized at about 3 years of age. Fig. 5.1 and 5.2 graphically present these data.

Simultaneous with the increase in linear size is the continued change in bodily proportions; thus, between ages 2 and 6 the ratio

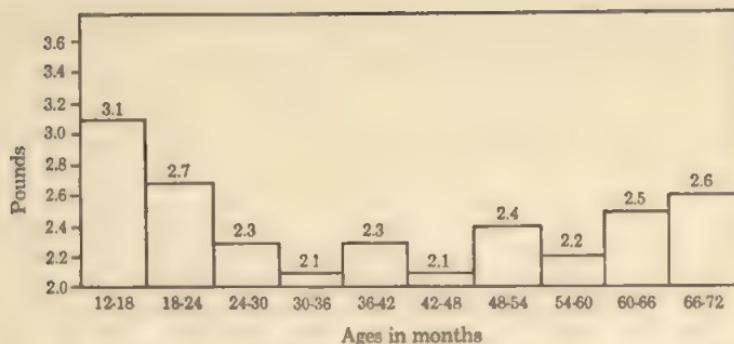


Fig. 5.1. Expected increments in weight, 12 to 72 months. (Created from data in *Growth and Development of Children*, E. H. Watson and G. H. Lowrey, 1958, Year Book Publishers, p. 70. Used by permission.)

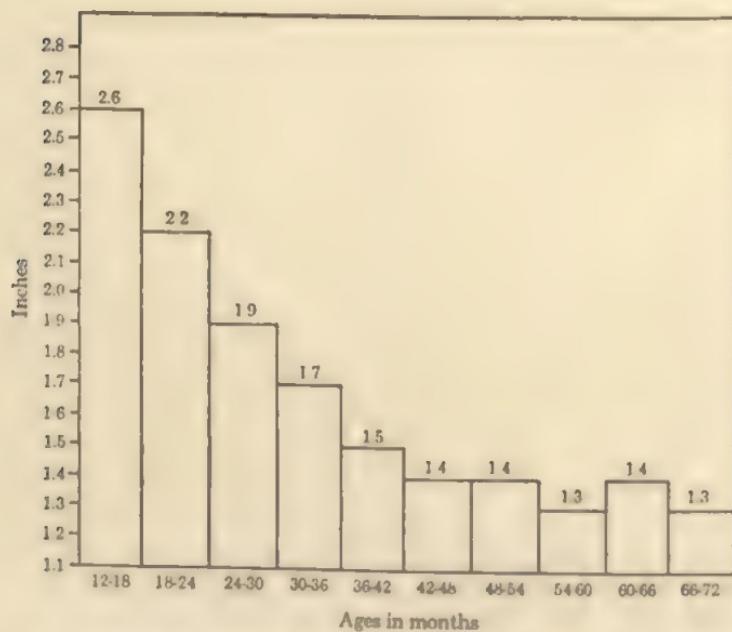


Fig. 5.2. Expected increments in height, 12 to 72 months. (Created from data in *Growth and Development of Children*, E. H. Watson and G. H. Lowrey, 1958, Year Book Publishers, p. 70. Used by permission.)

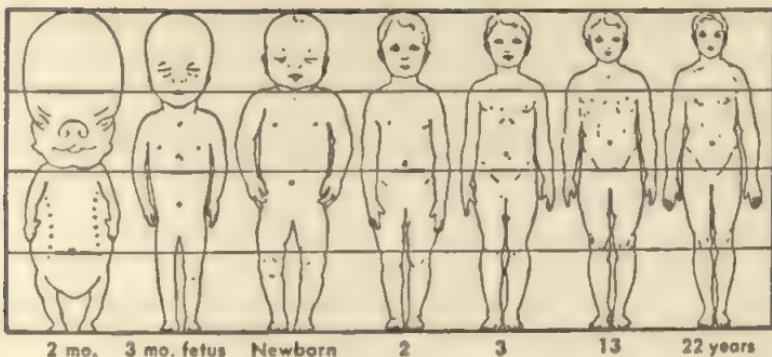


Fig. 5.3. Changes in form and proportion of the human body during fetal and postnatal life. (After Scammon. From Arey, L. B.: *Developmental Anatomy*, 6th Ed. Philadelphia, W. B. Saunders Company, 1954.)

of head to trunk to legs alters. Fig. 5.3 shows the changes from before birth to maturity.

Changes in Energy Needs

As the rate of increase in size levels off, there is also a reduction in the rate of gain in metabolism. During ages 3 and 4, there is a decrease in the rate of heat production as compared to the first two years. Generally, heat production increases throughout the growing years and then levels off, but at ages 3 and 4 it dips. Children, as a consequence, often cut down their food intake whereas parents often insist on increasing the amount of food which they expect the child to eat. Lack of understanding that this decrease in appetite is normal can lead to the creation of "food problems." Parents have grown accustomed to the child's previous increased demands for food so that during these two years they become disturbed when the child begins to shove away his unfinished plate. If parents could learn to prepare wholesome food, and take their cues concerning quantity from the child himself, some of the interminable dinner-table wrangles might be decreased or eliminated.

Increases in Motor Control

During these preschool years the child continues to develop rapidly his ability to manipulate the objects in his environment. The

rate of increase in size slows down, but increase in complexity continues to be rapid.

The transactional nature of development becomes more obvious in the years between infancy and school. Opportunities for experience become increasingly important in determining the actual behavior and the actual uses to which the child will put his increasing coordination ability.

Generally, children go through a progression in which, at first, they engage in activity simply, it seems on the surface, for the sheer joy of being active, and finally arrive at a repetitive type of behavior in which they do and redo whatever they've just accomplished, such as going up and down stairs, climbing to the top of the jungle gym, or building a tower of blocks. This leads into the more sophisticated type of activity which emerges about the age of 4 or 5 in which the coordination task is only a tool in play or games of a social nature. At 3 the child climbs stairs to climb stairs; at 5 the child climbs stairs because he's a "good guy" and the "bad guy" is hiding up at the top. The same process of development holds for such other motor skills as block-building or drawing. Thus, children move from the stage of merely stacking blocks to the use of blocks in dramatic play and in attempts to build "real-looking" forts or garages or castles. Drawings change from the aimless scribbling of the toddler to the design stage and, finally, to the kindergartener's attempts to reproduce reality.

These developments represent not only the increasing control the child has over legs, arms, and small muscles but also the purposive aspects of behavior. He moves from use for the sake of use, to use for social, communicative, symbolic, and interpretive purposes. Part of the new motor ability is used to handle feelings or fantasy; part is used to relate to other children; part is used as the child attempts to understand the culture which surrounds him.

In terms of pure "ability to do" we can observe in operation the growth principle of developmental direction. Control proceeds from large-muscle to small-muscle. For example, the order of leg development is: walking, ascending and descending a few steps, jumping, hopping, and skipping. There is also an increase in strength. Studies of rhythmic activities also reveal that the ability to keep time with music develops with age.

The establishment of *hand dominance* is also usually completed

during these years. The age-old dispute of heredity versus environment may be seen in the many articles devoted to the changing of left-handedness to right-handedness. Current thought would fit into our transactional approach since our culture favors right-handedness and rewards right-handed behavior. Our tools, toys, and games are designed for the right-handed. Many children who might go either way, since to some degree "handedness" is learned behavior, become right-handed through the socialization process. It has been shown that most children can be oriented to using their right hand before age 6. We also know that no person is completely one-sided, but may carry on many activities with either hand.

Significance of These Changes

Important in the evolution of selfhood is this increasing control over one's body. A major factor in the definition of the adequate self is the ability to assume tasks for oneself that formerly had to be done by others. As the child might express it: "Now I'm 6 I can tie my own shoes, dress myself, feed and wash myself, button some of my buttons (though maybe not those I cannot see), and go to the bathroom without help. Of course, I still need my mommy, but I don't need her to do all the things for me like she used to do."

Of course, mother may feel ambivalent toward this growing ability; she may be glad to see the child "growing up" but sorry to see him growing away from her. The increase in motor control thus operates, in relation to the self, as a force which enables the child to do more, and also, through the way people respond to his growth, influences his self-picture. He, too, makes his *own* response to his body, his own comparisons of his self with others. The child evaluates his own efforts at drawing, skipping, hula-hooping, or whatever the task is. He evaluates himself against both his own aspirations and the achievement of others. A nursery school teacher once told the story of a 4-year-old, vigorously drawing, face close to the paper, tongue out, using a profusion of crayons. The teacher, steeped in the doctrine of encouragement, went up to him and said, "Why Bobby, I think that's a fine drawing!" To which Bobby replied, in the direct fashion of the 4-year-old, "I think it stinks!" In his eyes, he couldn't make the picture represent what he wanted it to, and the teacher's attempts at support were rejected.

The child's self-picture is influenced by both the way in which

others respond to his growing abilities and the way in which his already developed self-system responds. This differs in some degree from the previous stage in which the very development of self depended upon the development of motor control. Up to this time (the emergence of self-awareness), motor and mental development had been closely related. We saw in the last chapter that the development of motor control made it possible for the infant to develop more complex adaptive behaviors. Simultaneous with the emergence of self in the latter half of the second year of life, we find that "the more adaptive intellectual functions are no longer closely limited by motor coordinations. The mental functions are free to differentiate and to expand pretty much on their own" (Bayley, 1954, p. 3). The child's organization has become more complex and, while all areas of development are integrated into the self, intellectual and motor development are no longer dependent upon each other. The child's view of himself, however, is related to both.

The Expansion of "Meanings"

Structuring the Physical World

SPACE. Chapter 4 discussed the efforts of the infant in ordering his surroundings, in making a map, in creating a perceptual field. By the time he refers to himself as "I," he has differentiated his own movements from the movements of objects in the field. He realizes that objects have permanence apart from their particular location in space at a particular time (the ball that was hidden behind the couch is the same ball that earlier was in the middle of the floor); he is able to perceive that the spatial field consists of more than those objects which have immediate utility to him; and, most significantly for his further development, the child can think of events and objects which are *not* present at the moment. He is capable of memory, of imagination, of pretending, of planning.

In structuring his world spatially, the child now includes symbolism as well as direct sensation. This symbolism, however, is limited to images of objects with which he has had direct concrete experiences. It is not symbolism in the sense of abstract thought. The child continues to structure his world around himself, and is still highly egocentric. He can now think and talk of "ball," or "yard," or "house";

he can pretend to play ball; he can enjoy, by the age of 4, such a game as "hide the penny"—but all these lie within the immediate experience of the child. He cannot conceptualize about more distant objects. For example, Piaget and Inhelder (1956) report that children of 4 or 5 had no notion of the fact that the mountain would look different from the opposite side.

Notions of the size of distant objects and their relationship to each other in space are likewise primitive. The child may know, if he has seen an airplane "close by," that it is this same plane which appears so small high in the sky. However, size and space often get "mixed up" and a small plane seen up close is perceived as actually being bigger than a huge jet bomber at high altitude. The size of the stars, the sun, and the moon are also beyond the comprehension of the pre-school child. There is the delightful story of the young princess who wanted the moon, and thought it was smaller than the trees because it could be hidden by the tree outside her window. Children listening to this tale readily empathize with her, and inadvertently reveal (to the adult) their misconceptions about the size and distance of the moon. The author's two preschool children, watching a television report on an unsuccessful early "moon-shot" effort at Cape Canaveral, Florida, had difficulty understanding why it would be so hard to hit such a target!

Not only is the child enlarging his understanding of how big is big and of the fact that the size of an object is constant despite its distance from the viewer, but also he is struggling to establish an idea of how far is far. Is a mile in the car the same as a mile when we walk it? How far is a mile? Again, immediacy and concrete experience are the basis for the conceptualization. A walk around the block, or a walk from home to some other landmark such as the school, the store, or a friend's house aids in establishing an understanding of distance. A "mile" becomes walking back and forth to a particular landmark. These early spatial anchorage points later enable the child to draw generalizations about new situations.

The Hanover experiments in perception by Adelbert Ames demonstrate how one holds on to these early landmarks. Ittelson describes a series of 20 demonstrations, all of which point to the conclusion that what is observed in concrete, physical experience is determined more by the perceiver and his experience than by the stimuli. For example, the artificial retina demonstration shows that "the apparent

properties of a perceived object are not determined by the image of that object on the retina. In the artificial retina demonstration this fact is illustrated by means of a direct comparison between the perception and the retinal image. A rectangular window, when viewed from any distance and from any angle (except edgewise) is perceived as a rectangular window of constant size, but the image on the retina is different in shape and size for every viewing position and is never rectangular" (Ittelson, 1952, p. 34).

The concept of the relationship of size to distance, for example, which forces adults to perceive the size of people changing while they keep the dimensions of the room constant can be seen in another demonstration using a monocular distorted room (see Fig. 5.4). "If an observer is given a pointer and asked to touch various parts of the room, he cannot do so accurately and quickly but behaves quite awkwardly, unexpectedly hitting the walls, floor, or ceiling. Performance is very little, if any, better if the observer has previously examined the room and become familiar with its shape and construc-

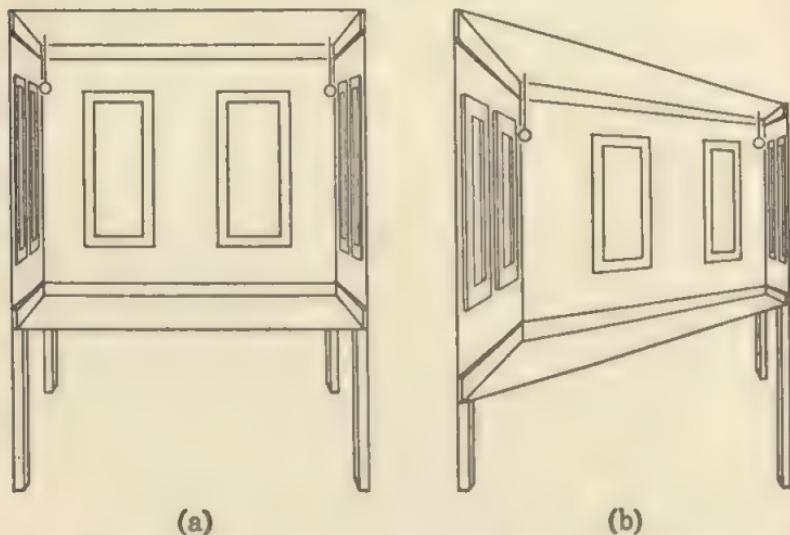


Fig. 5.4. The monocular distorted room. The observer sees the room as correct (a), although, in actuality, he is viewing a room in which the left corner is twice as far away from the front of the room as the right corner (b). His viewing station is to the right of center, but he perceives himself as being at the center. (Created from data in *The Ames Demonstrations in Perception*, W. Ittelson, 1952, Princeton University Press. Used by permission.)

tion. Even under these conditions he acts as if the room were truly rectangular, as it appears to be" (Ittelson, 1952, p. 40). In daily experience, adults often translate distance into the convenient direct terms through which they first established their concepts. Each of us probably still has an image of a mile as "from my home to the grocery store and back" which we use as a measuring rod, instead of conceiving of a mile as 5,280 feet.

In summary, by the time the child is ready for school he has acquired concepts of space which grew out of his dealings with his surroundings. He can visualize objects as possessing permanency; he has begun to conceptualize distance and can engage in using the objects in his field to solve problems. For example, he can do simple jigsaw puzzles which require understanding of shapes. While he still may attempt to pound a piece into place, by and large he recognizes that the shape of the piece must correspond to the shape of the available space. Though he uses color and subject clues as aids in solving the puzzle, the child has a spatial orientation. Although he knows of the existence of objects outside his perceptual field, he is still mostly concerned with objects he can utilize, which are immediately related to him.

TIME. At the same time that the child is developing and enlarging his notions of the spatial environment, he is also developing the beginnings of understanding about his temporal environment. To the infant, life is lived completely in the present tense; truly, "there is no time like the present." The young child recognizes more than the present, although there is still considerable confusion in his thinking about time. Perhaps one of the most difficult concepts for him to grasp is that time exists *independently* of him, his wishes, his needs. While he recognizes that objects and people have an independent existence, he also has learned he can affect their behavior. He can move a block, change (to some degree) his parents' behavior, or avoid an object which might hurt him. Time, however, is different and he can do nothing about it. Of course, the child attempts to influence time through "magic," but he finds out, alas, that it doesn't work. For example, the avid "Mighty Mouse" fan learns that his program is on television at 10:30 A.M. If he could only make 10:30 come sooner! So he gets a clock, and turns the hands ahead—assuming he can do this without mother getting in the way—but still

"Mighty Mouse" comes on no sooner. Or, he may ask his mother to set a timer to ring when it's time for the program. Getting impatient, he rings the timer by hand before the set time and then races to the TV set—but—what's this?—still no "Mighty Mouse."

He is puzzled also by the relativity of time from his point of view. Why is it that when Daddy says he'll play with him "in a minute" that it takes so long, but when the child says he'll come "in a minute" from play that the time just disappears? Certainly concepts of day, week, month, and year hold no meaning at the beginning of this period of development. He first develops concepts of present time, then future time, and lastly past time. The child confuses time periods by assuming, for example, that it is a new day when he wakes up from his nap. It is only as he reaches 4 or 5 that he becomes really aware of clock time and calendar time although, of course, his concepts are still quite hazy.

Ames (1946) interviewed a small sample of children and found a consistent sequence of development; the child of 4 could separate morning and afternoon and at 5 years of age he knew what day it was. Springer went one step farther in studying 4- to 6-year-olds and asked preschool children to tell various times on a clock face, and to explain how they knew the answer. She also asked these nursery children what time school started, what time lunch started, and what time school ended. She concluded: "First, the child is able to tell the time of activities which occur regularly in his daily schedule. . . . Second, the child is able to tell time by a clock: the hours, then the half and quarter hours" (Springer, 1952, p. 95).

Here again is our basic principle of developing understanding of the world in operation in relation to time as well as space. The child moves from a concrete, action-oriented level toward a more abstract level. He deals with time in terms of its utility, its relatedness to him, its function in enabling him to order his environment—that is, to routinize and predict the occurrence of events. Time and space thus serve the child as additional anchorage points.

Age, time, and growth all become tangled together in the thoughts of the child. He conceives of people as continuing to grow bigger each year because he sees himself getting bigger. When he sees a tall grownup next to an average sized one, he jumps to the conclusion that the taller grownup must be older. Again we can see this as a manifestation of how the child generalizes from himself as the

center. We mentioned on page 1 that birthdays do not change the child magically. To the child, however, as he approaches 4 or 5 or 6, they do possess mystical power. The child sees these as landmarks, "When I be 5 I go to kindergarten." His thinking about himself is oriented in relation to his size, his age, and the size of the people around him. "His size takes on meaning in terms of (1) the other aspects of his structural equipment; (2) in terms of the size of people with whom he is closely associated; . . ." (Macfarlane, 1939, p. 5).

Concepts of the self as big and, more particularly, as getting bigger are close to the core of the self of the child during these years. He is equally aware, however, of his own small size in comparison with that of adults and older siblings. Children of this age perceive their fathers as larger than their mothers, although they also perceive children of the opposite sex as being larger than themselves (Katcher and Levin, 1955). The child may show this in a variety of ways as he seeks to change or comprehend this fact of life. A 4-year-old girl, for example, making a drawing, told the author, "I'm drawing me and my brother. He's really bigger, but I'm making *me* bigger!" Children delight in standing on stools or chairs or other pieces of furniture, looking down on the heads of the adult below and reporting gleefully, "Look, I'm bigger than you are!"

QUANTITY. As in the child's concepts of space and time and, indeed, as in the development of all concepts including those of self, the child learns through the process of differentiating from his own direct experiences. In learning about quantity, this differentiating process goes through three stages before school and a fourth one beginning about the time he enters school. First, the child's behavior shows that he recognizes and *responds to* magnitude. The child can handle several objects, and realizes that he has several objects. He then progresses to *naming*. It may sound to the proud parent as though the child were counting, and mother may brag how *her* 3-year-old can count to ten, but the child really has no concept of number. He may count objects, but he leaves out numbers; or he counts to ten when there are only five or six items to count; however, he keeps the rhythm of the counting irrespective of its accuracy. In the same way, children can memorize the alphabet without having the vaguest notion that it has anything to do with letters! The *ordering* function follows after naming. Here the child recognizes the existence

of a system of numbers and can use the number system to actually count or assemble a specified number of objects.

As Martin states: "This learning process (of discriminating) underlies the advance the child makes in his ability to deal with quantitative aspects of his environment. The ability to discriminate becomes of paramount importance; the later adoption of a system of terminology, the number system in this case, would seem only to facilitate that process which is already well understood on the non-symbolic level" (Martin, 1951, p. 215).

Coward's study gives us some clear-cut information on the number performance of children, and also enables us to see the above-mentioned processes more clearly. One hundred boys and one hundred girls, evenly divided among the ages of 3 to 6, were given a battery of number tests. The children composed a representative sample of occupational backgrounds in Minneapolis. Coward reports:

(a) At no age can all children count without initial help; a great increase in ability to count appears at the six-year level; performance on rote counting is superior to that on object counting through the age of six years. (b) Figures are scarcely recognized until six years. (c) Children appear to learn numbers in serial order . . . (d) Number finding, distinguishing numbers, producing numbers, and number naming rank from easiest to most difficult in that order at all ages; however, they follow the same trend of increase with age. (e) Concepts of comparative degree are well understood at all ages. (f) Concepts of measure are little understood until the age of five years except for articles of food. (g) Coins can be identified by many at all ages but few can handle money concepts in simple problems. (h) There is slight ability to combine numbers by simple addition until six years; the handling of both addition and subtraction combinations in concrete problems is superior to that in handling them when presented in isolation. (i) Fractions are difficult at all ages with little knowledge demonstrated until the age of six. (j) The ability to solve problems increases steadily with age (Coward, 1940).

Young children's concepts of "one-half" does not imply equality; one-half simply means that there are two pieces taken from one larger piece. While two siblings may be very concerned that each gets an equal piece of the candy bar or "coke" or whatever is being divided, they do not conceive of this in terms of "one-half."

Although the order of development of concepts about the physical world appears to be regular for groups of children—in each case proceeding from a self-centered base and developed through concrete experiences prior to the use of abstract reasoning—we must re-

stress that the actual concepts an individual child will hold are highly personal. His concepts of the physical world are a function of the particular, unique transactions between his growing body and his environmental field. They are influenced by his needs and the way he has related himself to his environment in his earlier experiences. It must be reiterated that children of the same chronological age will vary widely in their concepts and that this wide variation is normal, natural, and expected. We can only, within gross limits, describe the general order by which certain concepts emerge, but even this order is subject to individual variation.

An understanding of how children conceive of their environment, and how their conceptions change as they develop, makes it easier for us to conceive as they conceive; easier to understand the meaning of their behavior; and easier for us to supply opportunities in which they can achieve their potentialities. This understanding may make the adult more tolerant of what otherwise might be viewed as "errors" on the child's part, so that the adult can relax and enjoy the child's behavior without fear or without providing too much guidance or without measuring him against some abstract standard of performance.

We can view the development of these concepts in another light. They enable the young child to comprehend his world, to organize his surroundings. He had accomplished, when he reached the point of conceiving of himself as an "I," a certain recognition of separation of the self from the world. Now, with these physical concepts, he is continuing the process of analyzing the world. It is obvious that the child always begins the differentiation of spatial, temporal, and quantitative concepts from the reference point of the self. He differentiates these concepts through experience, particularly in the degree to which these concepts possess utility. He does not seek to comprehend space as space, or time as time. Rather, he seeks to comprehend space so that he can use it, time so that he can control it. Concepts are meaningful; that is, they are guides and cues to action. When we look at how the child reasons, we will see how utility continues to apply.

Structuring the Interpersonal World

The child continues to develop his concepts of the interpersonal world as well as the physical world. Until the emergence of self-awareness all his world was one. Now, however, he sees others as

separate from him, and he needs to develop ideas about who these others are and how to behave in relation to them. Just as he differentiates aspects of his physical surroundings, he begins to make clearer distinctions in his interpersonal surroundings. He perceives that there are two worlds of people, an adult world and a child world. He belongs to both and still sees himself at the center of both. What images does he hold about the nature of both worlds?

Ames' study of the verbal behavior of children in The Yale Clinic of Child Development bears out the continued egocentricity during this period of development. It also shows that the child first works on the task of understanding the adult world before he concerns himself with the world of peers. The order of development which was observed from ages 2 to 3½ was (1) contact with teacher while engaged in individual activities, along with only tentative relation to other children, (2) parallel play and interpersonal rivalry with much egocentricity, and (3) the stage in which peer relations exceeded child-teacher relations. The child develops away from the adult toward other children. By about 3½, "the child is beginning to establish himself with his contemporaries, aligning with some and excluding others. He now treats other children as individual persons with special individual characteristics" (Ames, 1952, pp. 229-230).

Of course, he is still working out his relationships with his parents. He goes through the very trying periods of saying "no" to everything. His striving for selfhood throughout this period forces him to develop notions about his parents as well as himself in relation to his parents. Part of the development of "self" includes developing concepts of "others" and parents are "significant others." He must establish their identities while he works on establishing his own. He thus tests the limits of behavior and begins to form concepts of the roles of "father" and "mother." We saw in Chapter 3 that the child learns his sex role first in the family. His concepts of parents are essential in this process.



Fig. 5.5. Reprinted by permission of the United Features Syndicate, Inc. Copyright, 1958.

The 4- and 5-year-olds studied by Mott had ideas of "mother" which changed with age. These middle-class children, whose mothers were predominantly housewives, reported mostly that "mother is a working mother keeping the home running" (Mott, 1954, p. 100). The younger children saw her mainly in terms of parent-child relationships. Increasing maturity brought a shift to seeing mother as "Mrs." in relation to the family and, finally, as an individual in her own right, possessor of a first name. These children did not know how old their mothers were, nor could they describe her size verbally. An interesting sex difference showed up in the 5-year-olds. With girls, when asked to whom they turn for recreation, help with clothing, and comfort in time of pain, it was Mother over Father two to one; with boys it was Mother over Father eight to seven. Father has a more significant place in the boys' eyes by this age. Using drawings of the family, Mott found that these children see Mother as taller than themselves and shorter than Father. They tend to place Mother in the center of the family and themselves next to her. Another study of children of professional people (Finch, 1955) showed they conceived of both parents as playing roles connected with child-care activities, but saw the mother performing more of these activities as well as performing household duties. Fathers were seen in the role of economic provider.

Both these studies, unfortunately, deal with small samples of middle-class white children. However, in both cases, the children's views of the parents reveal that parents are seen as "movers and doers," that they mostly see parents in relation to themselves, and that they see both delineation of function between Mother and Father as well as sharing of function. Further, since their concepts seem fairly realistic, it might be that children of working mothers would see this role clearly and present a different image of "mother" to the researcher. That the children see Father as playing an important role in relation to themselves points up the importance of seeing the family as a total social system in which all members making an impact upon the perception and behavior of the others. A study of child guidance clinic cases revealed that "the attitudes of fathers are at least as intimately related as maternal attitudes to the occurrence and form of behavior problems in children" (Peterson *et al.*, 1959, p. 127).

That children this age perceive the differentiated role of male and female adult was demonstrated in a learning experiment in which

kindergarten children were taught to solve problems. When the male leader was a model, both sexes performed better than with a female leader, and the boys were more influenced than the girls by changes in the male leader's behavior (Rosenblith, 1959). Koch, in her study of siblings, found that "girls were rated more affectionate, more obedient, and less resistant than were boys" by female teachers (Koch, 1955, p. 37).

We can summarize by saying that children have clearly differentiated the male from the female adult, that they respond with discrimination toward them, and that their images of parents, although on a superficial "action" level, are essentially accurate. Further, the children themselves have identified with the appropriate sex role. They know that boys and girls act differently.

The *child world*, too, is taking on a differentiated character. It is not all one blur, one mass of "kids" to play with, where each child is equivalent to any other. The parallel play of the 3-year-old is superseded by the cooperative play of the kindergartner. The child is now aware of social pressures to conform, to be compliant, to give affection, to be discriminating. He even shows the beginnings of ethnic choice in playmates (Lambert and Taguchi, 1956). Close friendships, not always of a temporary nature, develop during this time and definite likes and dislikes appear. While there is no "peer group" in the formal sense of the word, there is certainly a world of peers in which the child is actively engaged in making his way.

Numerous studies have shown that aggressive behavior increases from age 2 to 4, and that boys are more aggressive and less affectionate than girls. In the Yale study cited earlier, Ames says, "boys especially take on a tough, *masculine role*, swaggering about and calling each other 'Joe,' 'Bill,' and 'Jim'" (Ames, 1952, p. 231). Aggressiveness is not general, but related to a particular situation: Joe hits Bill because Bill hit him.

Conversely, a study of 124 nursery school children in Oklahoma, ranging in age from 2 to 5, found that boys display affection toward other boys rather than toward adults or girls. Using a time-sample observation procedure and categorizing behavior into physical and verbal aggression or affection, this study also disclosed that "at all age levels [from 2 to 5] the children were more affectionate than aggressive in their response to others and more frequently employed affection than aggression in initiating contacts" (Walters, Pearce and

Dahms, 1957, p. 25). Children's contacts with each other reveal that they are not "monsters" who need to be forced into social behavior, but that love and affection are deep-rooted. They seek other children, want to be with other children, and look for friendship. The boys' behavior, as observed in both these studies, suggest that they use both affection and rough behavior as means for developing concepts of maleness.

Naturally, most of our studies of peer behavior during the preschool years have been conducted in a nursery school or kindergarten setting. This raises the question of whether the children's behavior and feelings reflect the "teaching" of nursery school, the caliber of parents who send their children to such schools, or the presence of an adult in the environment. We know little about the nonschool setting, the training ground in the back yard. A phenomenon seen more and more in suburbia in the post-World War II years is privately owned play equipment such as swings, sliding boards, or plastic pools. Public facilities have thus fallen into disuse. Do children in this setting learn the "sharing," "cooperative," "taking turns" patterns taught in nursery schools? Ausubel's summary of research conducted in the 1930s reveals that "in comparing groups of children who do and do not attend nursery schools certain predictable differences in social poise, facility and adjustment almost always appear" (Ausubel, 1958, p. 467). We do not have current data to substantiate this. We are sure that this initial difference did not last when both groups of children were subjected to school experience.

The predominant trend of peer relationships reflects the growth of the child's awareness of "self" and "other." Although school experiences may facilitate the rate, the direction is constant. The child moves from a highly egocentric position (as we have seen it is a most understandable position for him to hold) toward a position in which he recognizes the individuality of the other child. Just as he learned to change his concept of "mother" as being a part of himself to someone with separate needs, wishes, feelings, and identity of her own, so he learns to differentiate his peers and siblings. He still cannot play well with a large group; "two's company and three's a crowd" seems generally true at this time of life as well as at the dating stage. The child still struggles mightily to have his own way; losing is a difficult notion and he makes rules to suit his own convenience and enhance his own position, but he does know that the other child does not exist

just for him. Thus, differentiating the "other child" accompanies differentiation of self. As he perceives the distinct uniqueness of the other, he perceives more clearly his own separateness.

By the beginning of school, the child knows that he is an individual, and that all other people are not only separate from him, but that they are individuals, too. He has also learned ways of coping with and dealing with other people that reflect his awareness of self and contribute to the future development of self.

The child organizes these concepts about people and objects into his "self." He gives meaning to the people, objects, and events in his perceptual world according to his needs, wishes, and past experience. We have seen what some of the meanings are which children assign to the world about them. Let us now look at the role of language and thought as contributors to the development of these personal meanings.

Development of Language and Thought

Vocabulary during the preschool years grows by leaps and bounds. The child is reaching out, seeking for meanings, and language serves as his main tool. What words mean is still heavily influenced by the emotional setting in which they were learned, but the child makes much progress toward "dictionary" meanings. He works on learning and applying the standard meaning for terms. This gives him great power—the power to generalize. He becomes more independent of immediate perceptual experience. The increased power to generalize through the use of words contributes to thought, and thinking, in turn, contributes to further vocabulary development, greater precision in the use of words, and a larger area of common meanings the child can share with others.

Indeed, it is the use of language which enables him to become less dependent upon his own personal direct experience and more able to know and utilize the experiences of others. This does not mean that the child no longer needs direct experiences—his language grows out of them—but he is now able to make links and connections, form some integrated concepts, and perceive certain types of relationships which were not possible before. Without the further development of language, the process of self-development would be seriously impaired. The child learns to use language to make generalizations, to evaluate people and events, to express his needs and his feelings, and

to differentiate more clearly. Gestures and words, shared now with others, communicate his ideas to others, others' ideas to him, and, significantly, enable him to express his own ideas to himself. Through language he can produce his own cues to thought and action. He can try things out symbolically rather than through overt behavior; he can begin to use his imagination and express himself through words.

Word and object are still closely related, but words begin to take on meaning of their own to the child. They become possessed of power all their own. To the young child, words are not merely symbols for things, they *are* things. When the child, in a fit of anger, calls someone "a name," he literally means it—the person becomes that name.

We can see how and why this confusion of word and thing, the inaccurate use of words, and the personal meanings of words come about by directing our focus to the thought processes which are interdependent with language.

REASONING. What are the ways that young children think? What factors influence their thinking?

First, their thoughts are related to their experiences, to the personal meanings they have already derived, and to their continuing efforts to enlarge their understanding of what is taking place in and around themselves. Since thinking and perceiving are related to personal meanings, children tend to think *autistically*; that is, their thought processes and perceptions are influenced by their needs, wishes, and self-concepts. They say a picture is "good" because it looks pleasant to them, and it looks pleasant to them because it reminds them of someone or something they already know. Of course, adults often think this way, too—witness, all the comments and humor which imply rejection of modern art or modern music. It's "not good" because it doesn't look as paintings *ought* to look, or it doesn't sound as music *should* sound. The rejection of the unfamiliar is a common factor in influencing thought.

The autistic thinking of children also forces errors of integration and reasoning. The rules of "tag" are bad because the child got tagged, but then they became good and he enforces them when he tags another child. What is "fair" or "unfair" depends upon who is making the judgment rather than any abstract concept of "fairness." Based upon a thorough review of the literature, Russell states: "The

conclusion is reached that autistic factors and more strictly emotional influences provide the great driving forces back of children's behavior, including their thoughtful behavior" (Russell, 1956, p. 199).

The *urge to know*, to understand, and to comprehend also influences children's thought. "Why" is the persistent and everlasting word of the preschool child. Unlike the little boy in *Alice in Wonderland* whose motives were assumed to be that "he only does it to annoy, because he knows it teases," the questioning of the young child is real and reflects his curiosity. He veritably lives in a Wonderland and seeks answers. As Murphy says of curiosity: "Puppies, monkeys, men are forever poking their noses into what does not obviously concern them—that is, what does not concern any previously aroused drive, but very much concerns the completion of a perceptual or activity pattern" (G. Murphy, 1947, pp. 405-406). It is this curiosity that may lead children later to science, but now leads them to thinking and integrating experiences in order to answer the everlasting "why?"

Children perceive relationships because two events occur close together in time or share a common perceptual feature or relate back to a similar previous experience. For example, anyone who wears a khaki uniform is a soldier; you can tell a "bad man" on television or in the movies because he wears a mustache and black clothes; all dogs are dangerous; all women are "mommies"; husbands are their wives' "daddies" because that's what adult men are; and so on. The stereotyping of people, the beginnings of class and caste role, may have their origins in this type of thinking.

This "associative" process, this linking together of past and present, is a major way in which the child organizes his experiences and thinks about them. In the process, he invokes magic, he makes mistakes, he "mishears" words, and he tests his ideas by trial and error. For example, the author's son, at 4, wanted to know about God. He had heard that God listens to you and answers your prayers. Quite logically he asked, "Since you can't see God, how can you talk to Him? How do you know He's heard you, and how does He answer you?" He was told that God is everywhere, so you can just talk to Him, but that He doesn't answer by talking back and that it's hard to know just how He will answer. So he proceeded out to the back yard, yelled at the top of his voice, "Hey, God, Hello God!" and waited for an answer. No answer came. He looked at me, and said,

"I'll count to five and try again." Again, he heard no answer. He said, "I'll give God one more chance." He counted to five again, yelled out again and, luckily, a breeze whipped up through the trees. He looked at me, smiled, and said, "I guess that's how God answered me," and marched back in the house, his faith vindicated. Of such experiences are children's concepts formed.

Summary

In this chapter we have seen how the interplay of maturation and experience have led to the expansion of the child's world. The preschool child has learned much about his immediate environment—about his parents, his neighborhood, and about such ever-present physical factors as space, time, and amount. He has learned to play alongside and with other children.

Although he knows much, he still is living essentially in a world in which he sees himself as the central figure. To some degree, all people do this; but the preschool child evidences his greater egocentricity by the high degree of autism in his thinking. He still has a long way to go on the path to maturity.

Chapter 6 explores the processes used by the child in increasing his self-awareness as he moves along this path. Awareness of self and world go hand in hand, so that the events discussed in the next chapter occur during the same time span as those presented above. The shift is one of focus, not time.

We shall try to see the child as he sees himself. Chapter 5 has been concerned with the developing concepts of world; Chapter 6 focuses upon the developing concepts of self.

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The Developing Self

*"I never did, I never did, I never did like
 'Now take care, dear'
I never did, I never did, I never did want
 'Hold-my-hand';
I never did, I never did, I never did think much of
 'Not up there, dear'
It's no good saying it. They don't understand."*¹

Identifying

A major developmental task of early childhood consists of identification with one's own sex—learning the appropriate male or female adult role. We know that the child enters school with fairly clear ideas about who "momma" and "daddy" are; we know that the child differentiates between boy and girl roles (see Chapter 5, Structuring the Interpersonal World). How does he accomplish this? He does so primarily through the process of identifying with the parent of the same sex. Identification before "I" and at the beginnings of the self were with the mother (we described this process in Chapter 4). The boy in early childhood needs to redirect his identification pattern to the father. He perceives the way his father walks and talks, the

¹ "Independence" from the book *When We Were Very Young*, by A. A. Milne. Copyright, 1924, by E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. Renewal, 1952, by the publishers.

clothes he wears, the way he relates to the mother, the things he talks about, and the activities he engages in around the house. The boy, using his father as a model, borrows his father's clothes, picks up his language, and "works" around the house. The father, usually pleased by the obvious efforts of the son to emulate him, aids in the process by playing with him, by letting him assist in chores, by buying him junior-size versions of the father's tools, golf clubs, or razor. Often the child doesn't care for the "make-believe"; he wants to *use* Daddy's equipment. The toy isn't rewarding to him; he cannot fantasize adequately with it. Wearing Daddy's *own* shirt, dragging to the floor, is far better than wearing a shirt "like Daddy's," although this is better than nothing.

In our culture, most boys are far removed from seeing fathers at work and have only vague notions of what father does away from home. In our discontinuous society, this phase of the sex-role must be learned at a later date (see Chapter 13). In either a rural or more primitive society, the work life can be seen by the child, and his play includes imitating the work of the father. In such a continuous culture, play blends into work. Boys in our urban, industrial society identify with a partial image of "man."

There seem to be three levels of identification, according to Lynn (1959). These are: (1) sex-role preference, the wish to be a particular sex (Brown, 1958 and Chapter 13), (2) sex-role adoption, the acting out in behavior of an aspect of the role of a particular sex (for example, when a girl wears boys' shirts and jeans), and (3) sex-role identification, the "actual incorporation of the role of a given sex and of the unconscious reactions characteristic of that role" (Lynn, 1959, p. 127). Lynn postulated that the pattern of development proceeds through these stages. An adaptation of his idea is represented in the following diagram for the development of boys:

identification with mother → male preference → male adoption → male identification

The girl growing up in a home where the mother is present is perhaps in a better position to identify with her appropriate sex role. For her the culture is more continuous. She can participate in the work life as well as the home and recreational life of the mother. She can help make beds, sweep and clean, cook and bake, as well as play at these activities with the child-sized equipment sold in the stores.

However, this close tie in early childhood may be modified later on (see Identification in subsequent chapters).

Again, adopting Lynn's framework, identification for girls follows the path indicated below:

identification with mother → male adoption → identification with aspects of the mother's role

During early childhood, both boys and girls are in the second stage. R. Sears's (1957) work on child-rearing illustrates the favoritism toward the male child. Subsequent chapters on preadolescence and adolescence will illustrate more of the girls' dilemma. Girls identify with mother in early childhood, but move away during later periods of development.

Identification with the adult may be seen as a manifestation of the urge to grow. Usually it is rewarded by the adult, and the child learns through reinforcement and success in his efforts that "being like" a parent is both expected of him and satisfying to him.

Identifying includes more than copying the activities, gestures, and speech of the parent. Attitudes and values are also learned through this process. The boy learns not only how to *act* like a man, but also how to *think* and *feel* like a man. The girl not only learns to behave as her mother behaves, but also to adopt attitudes toward both her own and the opposite sex. Children learn through identifying with the parents and through accepting themselves as "male" or "female." Identifying is a deep, feeling-laden process, one more fundamental than mere imitation.

In identifying with parents, children take over and incorporate into their selves a wide range of attitudes and values, beyond those concerned with the sex-role. Concepts are learned through identification and, because of the emotional setting in which they are learned, may be difficult to change. Close identification with family values may lead to a narrow view of other people's ideas, values, and ways of life. Studies of prejudice, for example, (Trager and Radke Yarrow, 1952) demonstrate that the seeds are sown during these pre-school years.

Identification is a major process by which roles and attitudes are learned. The early childhood period, it seems clear, is the period of the greatest intensity of identification, of the greatest need to identify (Kagan, 1958). Since these roles and attitudes are learned early in

life, in a close interpersonal setting, they become a basic part of the core of the child's self and are fairly stable elements in the way he will feel and behave throughout life.

Role-Playing

Concurrently, and as a part of identifying, the young child engages in role-playing. He "acts out" the behavior he perceives to belong to certain roles. He plays milkman, fireman, policeman, cowboy as well as Daddy. The girl plays "house" and talks to her dolls as she perceives her mother talking to her. Indeed, Martin suggests that role-playing is the way in which identifying and valuing is accomplished. "We can become another person only by playing his role, doing what he does. . . . Value development is a cognitive process. Values are the result of conscious imitation of the behavior of others" (Martin, 1954, p. 217). Listening to young children role-play lends credence at least to the idea that they are consciously working on being their perception of the other person. Watch how the boy plays "Daddy." He kisses "Mother" goodbye (or uses whatever goodbye ritual, if any, is observed in his home), grabs his "briefcase," or "lunchbox," or whatever it is that Daddy takes with him, and says, "I'm off to work." He leaves the room, dead silence follows (because of his lack of concepts of work), and he returns shortly to play the role of "Daddy at home." What is he doing? He is trying out, through behavior, how it feels to be "Daddy." Children devote many hours of what adults call "playtime" to this activity; it is essential to their development.

G. H. Mead saw this role-playing as being intimately connected with the development of language and social meanings. He said, in effect, that, by assuming a role, the child takes within himself stimuli for action and response which formerly were possessed by the real person. For example, when the real mother talks to her daughter, she is providing the girl with stimuli for action. When the daughter, playing the role of "mother," talks to her dolls, she is learning to respond to her self. "In the play period the child utilizes his own responses to these stimuli which he makes use of in building a self" (Mead, 1934, p. 150). The girl learns what her mother means when she talks to her. By role-playing, she increases her understanding of both her mother and herself.

E. Maccoby (1959) analyzed role-playing from the viewpoint of instrumental learning and arrived at a position similar to Mead's.

Through role-playing, the child engages in covert role practice by which he learns how to respond as his parent responded. Maccoby discusses two additional ideas, however, which should not be overlooked when attempting to comprehend the process of role-playing in the young child. As we noted earlier, in Chapter 4, one can never really "take over" the role of another. Maccoby states, "while a young child may be able to reproduce the response of another person, this does not mean that he can put himself in another's place in the empathic sense. . . . That is, he may connect his model's response (as represented in his own fantasy) to whatever set of stimuli are impinging upon himself at the moment, because he is not yet capable of discriminating his own cues from those stimulating others" (Maccoby, 1959, p. 248).

Further, the child may learn different behavior in a different setting—the street, the nursery school—more satisfying to him than the home and thus he may act in conflicting ways. The adult may also set up such a conflict by overtly rewarding one type of behavior while displaying different behavior himself. For instance, mother may tell the child to tell the truth at all times and yet may engage in obvious social lies in front of the child.

Where does this discrepancy lead us? The child "takes over" the parents' overt actions in the way he perceives them and in the way the situation which he perceives involves them. He learns that certain behavior evokes certain responses, and he internalizes these responses. To tie this to self-theory, we turn again to Maccoby:

This brings up a central point, having to do with the development of attitudes toward the self. If a child learns the adult-role behavior characteristic of his parents, he may be expected to manifest the behavior in two sets of circumstances; when another person performs child-like actions toward him (e.g., when another child is hurt and needs solace, or when another child breaks a rule and needs discipline), or when he himself performs these child-like actions or has the impulse to do so. Suppose a child has parents who characteristically react by withdrawing their love from him when he does something they disapprove of. If he learns their characteristic mode of response to the deviation of another person, we would expect him to react to another child who breaks a rule by refusing to play with the other child. But, in addition, when he himself deviates, he will respond to his own impulse by withdrawing love from himself—a phenomenon we more commonly refer to as a loss of self-esteem. Thus, the parents' attitudes toward the child, and the parents' techniques of

dealing with the child, will be reflected in the child's self-attitudes as well as in his attitudes and behavior toward others [Maccoby, 1959, pp. 249-250].

Role-taking and identification also prepare the way for truly socialized play and for organized games. We will see in Chapter 9 how concepts of "other" and "self" learned through identification and role-playing contribute to the child's ability to play games, communicate effectively with peers, and further his self-development.

Self-Evaluating

Differentiating "self" from "other," distributing "other" into discrete categories, and learning the roles associated with "significant others" are not purely intellectual endeavors. Accompanying all behaviors are feeling tones. It is this sense of well-being or discomfort, accompanying or following shortly after action, which conveys to the child not only who he is, but also what degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction is associated with this concept of self.

For example, on a hot summer day a group of children may be playing on the lawn, dashing back and forth through the sprinkler. They enjoy not only the interaction with peers, but also the sheer fun of getting wet and cooling off, working their legs by running, and perhaps, most important, playing with the mud and puddles they can create by stopping the sprinkler and letting the water go all in one place. Tactile stimulation, good companions, and an acceptant parent who observes the play from the distance all combine to give the child a sense of well-being. When Daddy comes home that evening, he's greeted with, "I had the goodest day!" As a part of each experience, the child evaluates its impact upon himself. He evaluates personally, so that he creates a picture of his own self-worth.

How "realistic" are these self-evaluations at this stage of the game? Perhaps not very, by adult standards. We know how autistically the child reasons. Nevertheless, he has definite images of what he can and cannot do, what his skills and abilities are. A group of youngsters may be tree-climbing while one child, who looks to the observer as completely capable, hangs back. Upon questioning, he says in effect that he doesn't like to try it, he'd rather watch. Another child, watching his older brother do something, jumps into the act with "me, too." He almost can't conceive that the older child might

be able to do something he can't do. Of course, when parents make evaluations of performances, as they so often do, the child incorporates their estimate into his. But, independently of parents, he makes, by the age of 4 or so, his own estimate of his capabilities. It is this self-evaluation which becomes significant in influencing his behavior.

Little research has been done on self-evaluation, but one study on preschool children's aspiration levels showed that these children were able to discriminate hard from easy tasks and chose those more likely to guarantee success. Further, even at this age, they tended to be individually consistent (Sears and Levin, 1957).

The child develops his self-evaluation on the basis of the experiences he has with his body and his environment. He is particularly open to the evaluations that he perceives his parents make about him. He learns to evaluate his behavior through the "feedback" he gets in terms of whether he feels "good" or "bad" within his own skin. While his view may not be "realistic," and is certainly modifiable at this phase of his development, it is an important aspect of his self.

In order to aid children to develop the best possible view of self, a view which permits them to like and enjoy themselves and their world and which enables them to seek more experience, the adults who surround the child need to provide him with (1) an interpersonal climate in which he perceives himself as loved, valued, accepted, and (2) an experiential climate in which there are many opportunities to explore, to "poke around," to try and err without condemnation, to succeed, to feel safe. With such a background, the growing child can eagerly perceive that each day is a good one.

Striving Toward Independence

The poem at the beginning of this chapter states in capsule form how the child at the end of this developmental period might feel about all the pushes and pulls, dos and don'ts, and safety precautions with which we surround him. While he is still strongly emotionally dependent upon his parents, he feels ready to try his wings, to conquer new territory, to reach out on his own. This striving for independence has been manifest throughout this period. Although the early years, ages 2 and 3, are perhaps the most critical times in the child's movement away from overdependence, the nature of the trans-

actional field, and particularly the mother's attitudes *throughout* the preschool years, will strongly influence the success or failure of the child's efforts to achieve independence.

By about the age of 6, the development of motor control and of language have given him the basic skills to use. He can now dress himself, make his wants known verbally, control his eliminative processes, etc. But what good are these capabilities unless he can exercise them? What good is a good climbing-tree if momma says, "Not up there, dear"? The child demonstrates his need for independence by his efforts to find out about himself through what has been labeled "negativism." His first response is often "no!" even before he may be clear about what is being asked of him. He is attempting to test the limits, to establish his identity through this, to parents at least, distressing technique.

Let's look at it through the child's eyes: "Here I am busily building a block fort. My army of soldiers is ready to march in when it's done, and mother calls, 'Go to the bathroom and wash up for dinner.' What would *you* do? I keep playing and either don't answer or yell back, 'No.' Gee, if they'd only give me time to finish! They tell me not to leave things undone, but they don't let me finish what I think is *real* important! What's a guy to do but tell 'em 'No'?"

Usually, giving a warning before calling, combined with patience, enables mothers to live through this period and enables children to get healthy views of themselves.

Of course, there are other ways in which the child seeks independence while still being emotionally close to his family. He plays farther from home, no longer confined or confining himself to hearing distance of the house. He reports back to the family that *other* parents do things differently, other children can stay up later, other friends have new toys. The basic melody of the adolescent refrain, "All the others are doing it," is played during the end of early childhood.

Handling Feelings

We have seen that the evaluation process is a feeling as well as a thinking (if such a dichotomy can be made) process. The child, in his transactions, runs into situations that frustrate and upset him as well as situations which please and delight him. He has to learn to express these feelings in ways which are acceptable to his parents

and peers. The infant has no such difficulty. Everyone accepts crying as a legitimate response, even though they may deal with the crier differently. The young child must learn what patterns, in terms of age and sex, the culture deems appropriate.

Early responses to frustrating situations are reflected by temper tantrums, direct physical aggression, crying, and similar reactions. These are "all-out" responses, usually thought by the adult to be completely out of proportion to the situation. The young child's tolerance of frustration and delay is much less than the adult's. When he wants something, he wants it *now*. When he's engaged in an activity, he wants to complete it. Postponing current pleasure for future satisfaction is too difficult. Most young children's negative feelings, then, are evoked by an interference with his activity. Landreth's (1941) study of the causes of crying showed that, in the home, conflict with adults over play was the greatest single cause, and in nursery school, attack on the child's person led the list.

Similarly, children's fears are related to their growing awareness of self and their awareness of others as separate and distinct from them. Their fears change from concern about sudden noises to fear of the dark, of being alone, of "bad men" (Jersild and Holmes, 1935). These are essentially social fears.

Each child, because of the uniqueness of his organism and his experience, evolves to some degree his own methods for dealing with tension, frustration, fear, and other unpleasant feelings. He protects his self from "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" in a variety of ways. Perhaps the best term to describe these ways is *defense mechanisms*. They are related to our previous discussion of autistic thinking. Basically, one major way the child (and the adult) protects himself is through perceptual means. He either denies or distorts the perception or assigns such a personal meaning to the event that his interpretation allows him to preserve the status quo. We're all familiar with the "sour grapes" type of response. This is perceptual distortion. The child is not so skillful. He distorts and denies more vigorously. When Daddy says, "It's bedtime," the child says, "No, it's not!" as if saying it loud enough will change the fact.

Protecting the self and communicating feelings go together. The acute observer can recognize the behavioral clues which indicate that the child is under stress. His behavior is a language which reveals his self to us. Since young children live more "on the surface" than

adults, we can more easily interpret their behavior. Of course, knowledge of the situation is essential, otherwise misinterpretation is easy. But, we can watch for denial and distortion, strong negativism, temper tantrums, withdrawal and avoidance activities, or outright physical aggression. They are signs by which the child tells us that the pressure of environment is causing tension within his self. This doesn't mean that all tension is bad, or that the child should live in a frustration-free world. That's not reality at all. Love does not mean the absence of limits and frustrations. Understanding does involve an awareness of the child's needs and tensions and a desire to guide him to understand and accept limits and to express his feelings in healthy ways.

Expressing the Self Through Creative Activity

The child expresses his self not only through behavior and language, but also through creative activity. During this period of early childhood he begins to handle and manipulate clay, mud, sand, blocks, and boxes. He pounds and piles, feels and smears, shapes and destroys them. He derives pleasure from the forms he creates, the texture of materials he uses, the activity itself. The action is as important to him as the product.

He also begins to use paints and crayons and produces "works of art" on two-dimensional surfaces. His concern is not with the reproduction of reality as the adult perceives it, but with the sheer pleasure of making things.

Again, we must be wary. First, although play undoubtedly involves a maturational factor (that is, the child now has greater motor control and coordination), it does not emerge spontaneously from the child. Second, the transactional nature of the situation must be kept in mind. Not *all* children enjoy playing with mud or fingerpaints; not *all* parents provide materials for experience. Middle-class parents, with their usual concerns for cleanliness and neatness, may not permit their children to create with mud or "messy" paints. Alpers' (1955) study of nursery children reveals some clear differences between the behavior of middle- and lower-class New England white children in the performance of fingerpainting tasks. "Middle-class subjects do appear to be made anxious by the smearing requirements: they have a lower tolerance for getting dirty, for staying dirty, and for the

products they produce while dirty" (Alpers, Blane, and Abrams, 1955, p. 455). Even though their mothers had read "the books" about child psychology, they were still creating a climate which reduced the children's ability to express themselves in a relaxed manner.

Adult standards of perfection also affect the creativity of the child. Drawing books, if used with the expectation that excellence equals staying inside the lines, may diminish the desire of the child to draw what he likes spontaneously.

Clinical psychologists have spent much time analyzing the content and form of drawings in order to interpret personality; the safest course for the parent or teacher of young children to take is a non-interpretive, encouraging one. Creative works *do* have meaning, but this meaning is personal to the child and cannot be scored for "personality" with any degree of accuracy. Creative expression through art and materials should be, for the young child, just that—a chance to express, to explore, to produce that which delights him and creates within him feelings of achievement and adequacy.

Summary

The preschool years are highly important in the formation and development of self. The child has differentiated self from other and spends these years building and elaborating his self-structure, learning who he is, who others are, and how to behave. He learns, primarily through his experiences with his family, what to expect of the world and what the world expects of him. His basic notions of his own adequacy are established. He learns ways of coping with his environment and protecting and expressing the self. He has not surrendered his egocentricity, but he has learned that other people have separate personalities.

During these preschool years self-awareness has grown from the dim, vague image labeled "I." The child's self-picture now includes many differentiations: self as son or daughter, self as playmate, self as imaginary hero, and many other selves. These are not crystallized, but still fluid. They do serve as the framework upon which further concepts will be built.

In order for further development to occur, new experiences must accompany the maturational process. Because of what has already

been established, the child is prepared for these new adventures. He is ready now to leave his first safe base and emerge into the larger world, the world outside the family.

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* Starred items are suggested additional readings.

Part Three

Emergence from Home

The Cultural Setting

American children are growing up within the most rapidly changing culture of which we have any record in the world, within a culture where for several generations each generation's experience has differed sharply from the last, and in which the experience of the youngest child in a large family will be extraordinarily different from that of the first born. . . . So long standing and so rapid have been these processes of change that expectation of change and anxiety about change have been built into our character as a people.¹

The Impact of the Culture

Cultural Factors at Work

In Chapter 3, we have discussed the family as the purveyor of the culture of the infant and young child. We saw that the way of life, the attitudes and meanings, and the expectations for the child reflect the family's unique organization of cultural factors.

The position we take is that one cannot understand the behavior of the child without understanding the situation (in this case, culture) in which it occurs. This is why we are looking at the "external" situations—family, culture, school, peer group. One way of studying

¹ Margaret Mead, "The Impact of Culture on Personality Development in the United States Today," *Understanding the Child*, 1951, 20, 17.

this external situation, or cultural milieu, has been devised by such cultural anthropologists as Mead.

Psychologists, too, have been engaged in studying the particularly psychological aspects of the environment. Perhaps the best single example of this approach is in the work of Barker and Wright (1954). They used the term "psychological ecology" to describe the field research into the psychological living conditions and behavior of the children in a particular small town they called "Midwest." The method is not only described in the reference cited above but also in their *One Boy's Day* (1951), which illustrates how behavior is recorded with attention to all the factors in the psychological setting.

For our purposes, in understanding the role of the cultural setting as a factor influencing development, we may borrow from Barker his realization of the importance of the behavior setting. He reports:

In our efforts to sample this universe [of individual behavior] adequately, we found that our behavior sample was improved if, in addition to using the usual stratification guides—ages, sex, social class, race, education, and occupation—we sampled behavior in such divergent places as the drug store, the Sunday-School classes, the 4-H Club meeting, and the football games. Early, we made the not very startling discovery that if we collected behavior in a variety of behavior areas, the variability of our behavior sample was greatly increased. At this point we stopped focusing exclusively upon the ecological particles, and saw for the first time a thing that is obvious to native Midwesterners, namely, that behavior comes not only in particle form, but in extra-individual wave patterns that are as visible and invariant as the pools and rapids in Slough Creek west of town. The Presbyterian worship services, the high school basketball games, and the post office, for example, persist year after year with their unique configurations of behavior, despite constant changes in the persons involved. These persisting, extra-individual behavior phenomena we have called the *standing behavior patterns* of Midwest [Barker and Wright, 1954, p. 7].

In this chapter, we will be concerned with some of the "standing behavior patterns" as revealed in the mass media and class behavior. In Chapter 8, we will look at the school, and in Chapter 9, at the peer world. Each of these investigations will, of necessity, highlight only certain aspects of the total situation in which the child finds himself.

As the child emerges from the safety of the home—indeed, even as he sits on his mother's lap and watches TV or listens to a story, he is being exposed to the general culture in which his family lives.

As he plays with other children, visits other homes, goes to school, his horizons widen, his exposure increases, and his views and attitudes become influenced by all he experiences. How he will feel about others, how well he will do in school, what he will learn, how he will evaluate himself—all this is shaped by the culture in which he lives. He will, of course, interpret his experiences in a personal manner, but the very experiences themselves are cultural.

We often hear of the "American Way of Life." Although it may be an idealized image, ignoring the diversity of subcultures existing within our general society, there is some truth to the notion of an "American Way of Life." It is not simply two cars in every garage and a motorboat, too; it goes far deeper than this. Our interpersonal relationships, our goals for our children, our attitudes toward intellectuality, toward pleasure, and so on, all assume something of a national character.

Mead's observation finds support in the research by Morris, in which various "Ways" were ranked by college students in many parts of the world. American students from various sections of the country gave top rank to the following "Way":

We should at various times and in various ways accept something from all other paths of life, but give no one our exclusive allegiance. At one moment one of them is the more appropriate; at another moment another is the most appropriate. Life should contain enjoyment and action and contemplation in about equal amounts. When either is carried to extremes we lose something important for our life. So we must cultivate flexibility, admit diversity in ourselves, accept the tension which this diversity produces, find a place for detachment in the midst of enjoyment and activity. The goal of life is found in the dynamic integration of enjoyment, action, and contemplation, and so in the dynamic interaction of the various paths of life. One should use all of them in building a life, and no one alone [Morris, 1956, pp. 15-17].

In contrast, students in India ranked the following "Way" highest:

In this "design for living" the individual actively participates in the social life of his community, not to change it primarily, but to understand, appreciate, and preserve the best that man has attained. Excessive desires should be avoided and moderation sought. One wants the good things of life but in an orderly way. Life is to have clarity, balance, refinement, control. Vulgarity, great enthusiasm, irrational behavior, impatience, indulgence are to be avoided. Friendship is to be esteemed but not easy intimacy with many people. Life is to have discipline, intelligibility, good manners, predictability. Social changes are to be made slowly and care-

fully, so that what has been achieved in human culture is not lost. The individual should be active physically and socially, but not in a hectic or radical way. Restraint and intelligence should give order to an active life [Morris, 1956, pp. 15-17].

Strodtbeck and his colleagues at Yale conducted a research into the dynamics of achievement in America. They used *status mobility* (that is, rise in the social class status structure) as their criterion for success. On this basis, they studied Jewish and Southern Italian groups in New Haven. They developed a scale of values, based upon previous research into social mobility and achievement. They report three values which "are important for achievement in the United States: (1) a belief that the world is orderly and amenable to rational mastery; that, therefore, a person can and should make plans which will control his destiny. . . . (2) a willingness to leave home to make one's way in life. . . . (3) a preference for individual rather than collective credit for work done" (Strodtbeck, 1958, pp. 186-187). They found that significantly more of the Jewish respondents believed this than the Italian, and that the Jewish group had been more mobile. Although this is a limited study and needs replication, it serves to illustrate some of the factors which are part of the American way. It would certainly seem that many Americans would accept the willingness to leave home as a current value. In effect, all we have to do is look around us to discover the generality of this value in action.

Mass Media

The mass media are a major factor in the spread of national values. Social psychologists, skilled in the study of propaganda techniques, have long been aware of the messages to children contained in comic strips, children's books, and TV programs. Analyses of comic strips, to determine what image of "America" they present to the child, indicated that "100 percent Americans," as distinct from those identifiable as members of ethnic groups, play the dominant roles in adventure series. British, French, German, African, or American Indian roles are minor and not necessarily sympathetic (Spiegelman *et al.*, 1952).

The 1959-1960 series of TV children's programs, such as "Sky King," were also 100 percent American. Although historical or western programs may show ethnic group members in sympathetic roles

—such as Zorro, Cisco and Pancho, Tonto and El Texo Bad! These are not presented as "typical" members of their groups. Essentially the image is an ethnocentric one. In the comic strips, goals are also presented and class stereotypes illustrated. For example, the upper-class male is humanitarian; his female counterpart is concerned with being loved and lovable. The middle class is striving for status and achievement, whereas the lower class accepts its fate, serves others and engages (for males) in the pursuit of pleasure (Spiegelman *et al.*, 1953). A study of radio serials revealed that "the complete absence of the working class is striking . . . There is no case of a worker playing an important role" (Arnheim, 1949, p. 362). Although television in the late 1950s did introduce some working-class roles as important, such as Riley, the factory worker (*Life of Riley*) and the truck-driver hero of *Cannonball*, Arnheim's comment is still essentially correct.

Magazine pictures have been studied to see what stereotypes were being presented. American whites were disproportionately portrayed as middle class, while Negroes appear in advertisements as servants or in other pictures as primitives, professional athletes, or entertainers (Shuey, 1953).

The family situation depicted in comic strips and TV shows has also been scrutinized. Father has been depicted as a comic character—weak, easily outmaneuvered by his clever wife. Only in "Father Knows Best" has a sympathetic, intelligent father been portrayed. Teachers, too, are either stereotyped "old maids" or ineffectual men, except on the above-mentioned program, in which they were presented as intelligent human beings, working under great handicaps to serve youth.

Attitudes toward right and wrong, justice and evil are also demonstrated in the mass media. On television, for example, "the hero, personalizing virtue, and armed with the impregnable armor of 'right' as well as the six-shooter, confronts evil, personalized by the villain; there is a violent physical struggle; and the right ultimately triumphs . . . In such programs, the incidence of violence and threats of violence is great indeed" (*Television for Children*, pp. 11-12).

In summary, the mass media directed at children present a narrow image of American life, one which does not depict our cultural diversity, the valuing of all people as worthy, the use of law rather

than force, the complexity of values. The media present an ethnocentric, stereotyped view, heavily laden with rejection or just non-representation of the rich variety of our cultural ways; family and teacher roles are highly artificial; and justice is often extralegal.

A comprehensive study of the effect of television on English children, ages 10 to 11 and 13 to 14 years, was conducted in 1955-1956 by Himmelweit (1958) and her associates. This study, using control groups and very careful research procedures, showed many influences upon children. In brief, when children watched television, they tended to reduce their exposure to other mass media; their attitudes toward society were influenced by what they watched; their knowledge and school performance were not harmed, nor were their eyes hurt. Violence on television seemed to arouse fear and make both aggression and violence seem normal ways of dealing with conflicts. This, of course, has been of concern to American critics as well.

They found the "addict" to have certain characteristics: social insecurity, low to average intelligence, addiction to other mass media, other-directedness. These characteristics have their roots in the family and in the genetic make-up of the child, rather than in the mass media themselves.

Fortunately, the role of interpersonal relations, the interpretation of this image by the people they know and trust, is more significant in determining children's attitudes than are the media. The chances are good that the printed word or the television screen can reinforce what is already believed or create images where none are present, but cannot change substantially attitudes and values learned through identification.

Social-Class Membership

Throughout earlier chapters we have mentioned middle-class and lower-class families and the differences in behaviors between them. A brief look at the living conditions of two youngsters may illustrate the cultural differences in background of experiences and family life. June is a lower-class white girl in the fifth grade and Bill is an upper-middle-class white boy in the second grade. Both June's and Bill's teachers visited their respective homes during the 1957-1958 school year. Mrs. Smith describes her perception of June's home as follows:

June lives in a settlement called "Madrid." It is about three miles from Grantsville. All of the houses in this vicinity are shelters rather than homes. June's is one of the worst of the lot. It is one-story, and so weather-beaten that one can scarcely tell whether it has ever been painted or not. There is no porch, but a few flower pots are propped around the door step. Some cane poles, an old fish net, and a worm box were visible under a lean-to near the side of the home.

There were no rugs inside. The large room into which I was ushered by June, was a *living room* in every sense of the word, for it contained everything necessary for survival, but little else. There was an old iron bed, a table with clean dishes stacked on it, a sink full of dirty dishes, and an old iron cooking pot in the fireplace. Some shelves with faded curtains revealed a few supplies.

June's younger brother and sister had already arrived from school on the bus. They were amazed to see me with June in tow. "We told Mama we didn't know where you were at," the little boy greeted June.

"Where is your mother?" I inquired of the children.

"Lying down," the girl answered.

"Go get her, Dorothy," June said.

Dorothy disappeared into a rear bedroom, spoke a few words to her mother, and they both came out presently. Mrs. Jones wore an old wrapper, and was barefooted.

"Excuse the way things look," she said. "I've been lying down all day."

The bed in the living room was certainly indicative of that.

I apologized too. "Well, I should have let you know I was coming," I said.

She didn't reply.

I stayed only about ten of the most awkward minutes I have ever spent anywhere! There seemed to be nothing to talk about. Mrs. Jones is lank and unattractive in appearance, but she is not illiterate. She would have resented any inquiry into family economic affairs. She said nothing unless I asked her something. When I inquired about her health, she stated that it was always poor. When I asked where Mr. Jones was, her reply consisted of one word, "Fishing."

Yet she did not seem sullen. She smiled at me in a friendly manner, revealing some of the worst looking teeth I have ever beheld! I told her that I was enjoying having June as a pupil, and she said that June liked school this year better than any other year. June verified that.

I put an arm around June. "This is a very sweet little girl. You can be proud of her," I said.

"You ought to see her around here," shrieked Dorothy. "Sometimes I could—," she broke off, doubling up her fist and shaking it to illustrate the point. But she was grinning good-naturedly, and I had the feeling that family relations were better than I had anticipated.

I would have liked to have seen Mr. Jones, but the many long lapses in the conversation made an extended wait too painful.

Mrs. Jones agreed with me when I said that I thought June had hook-worm. But she shrugged the whole thing off with, "We aren't able to take her to a doctor."

Which remark about sums up the family's approach to life.

In sharp contrast, Bill's teacher records:

Bill and his family live in a four-bedroom, two-bath, two-story house just a block from the river in the Riverside section of town. They employ a full-time maid who accompanies them to their farm in the country on week-ends.

Bill's father owns his own business and employs about twenty-five people.

Bill had a minor operation, and the teacher reports:

I thought today would be a good time to make a home visit (especially since I had been invited). The uniformed maid met me at the door with a large bottle of cleaning fluid in her hand. Bill was in his P.J.'s on the couch in the den watching TV. "How do you feel, Bill?"

"Fine as rain! Do you want to see my stitches?"

Just then Bill's mother came in. She said that she and the maid had been trying to get the lipstick out that Barbara had put on the pink sofa in the living room. She didn't seem the least bit upset and kinda laughed it off by saying it was her own fault for leaving the lipstick laying around. Bill's father and two brothers had gone out in their boat. Bill was very interested in some cowboy program that was almost over. We had hot chocolate and cookies. He gave me the work he had done and his mother said she would send for more work on Monday.

I was made to feel very welcome. The house was nicely furnished in conventional furniture, drapes, rugs, lamps, and pictures. It looked comfortable and attractive.

The next day, the teacher observes:

Bill's brother came to get his homework today. He said, "What a lucky duck. All he has to do is watch TV all day long. He even has one in his room so he can watch it as late as he wants to."

We can see in the above descriptions sharply different ways of life, and we could reasonably expect differing behavior from the children as well as the development of different concepts of self. These two families, sending their children to the same school in Florida, expect different results from school. They prepare their children for school differently; they provide quite different cultural stimuli.

It is always dangerous to generalize from two isolated cases. They

illustrate, however, the diversity of social class factors. A research which more rigorously illustrates the effect of social class was conducted by Stendler, who studied the parents of first-grade children in a Midwestern state. She reported that attendance at a paid pre-school, ambitions for high school graduation and college attendance, preparation for school by home teaching, and importance attached to home-school communication, were all functions of social class (Stendler, 1951).

Ethnic Membership

Further complicating the picture of a single American society is the rich variety of ethnic groups which exist. Contrary to the notion of a "melting pot" in which all become one, each ethnic group, in fact, preserves certain aspects of its own particular heritage and follows, perhaps unwittingly, the Old Testament injunction, "And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children." In the study cited earlier about values affecting achievement, differences were found between Jewish and Italian families in terms of expectations. Jewish parents set higher educational and occupational expectations for their sons and had no notions of submitting to fate (Strodtbeck, 1958).

Studies of day-care centers in New York City revealed that German-American mothers and grandmothers focused on problems of discipline, while Italian-American mothers worried less about this and more about nudity, sin, and sex. Public showers for preschool boys and girls were accepted by Czech and German mothers who perceived this as related to cleanliness, while Irish mothers rejected this (Opler, 1955). Such ethnic group attitudes are not confined to the Eastern seaboard or the big cities of the North. They exist in varying degrees throughout the country. The Puerto Rican in New York, with his problems of adjusting to both an industrial and an urban culture, has his counterpart in the Cuban in Tampa and Miami and the Mexican in the Southwest.

The way of life of an ethnic group is compounded of a mixture of "old" and "new," class and economic variables, and the dynamics of acculturation. The Polish-American in Detroit leads a different life than the Pole in Warsaw; the Jew in New York leads a different life from the Jew in Savannah; the Irishman in Boston is not the mirror image of the Irishman in San Bernardino.

Studies of the American Negro reveal similar social class and regional variables. Northern Negroes react to frustration differently from Southern Negroes; middle-class Negroes' values and ways of life are quite distinct from lower-class ones, and are essentially similar to white middle-class values. Davis and Havighurst's study of child-rearing in Chicago in the 1940s led them to conclude: "The striking thing about this study is that Negro and white middle-class families are so much alike, and that white and Negro lower-class families are so much alike" (Davis and Havighurst, 1946, p. 708).

We cannot talk of a group without placing it in its situation, in much the same way that we cannot understand the behavior of the child without knowing the setting for his behavior. Accommodating to the broad American culture brings many changes in appearance and behavior. Even physical factors are influenced. A comparison between American-born Japanese in California with a matched group in Japan showed the California group to be taller, heavier, and more advanced skeletally than the group in Japan. The differences appear to be a result of cultural environment rather than of inherent racial factors (Greulich, 1957).

An understanding of the individual child requires an understanding of the many subcultures to which he belongs and, more particularly, a knowledge of the specific combination of subcultures. The organization, the arrangement of these, is a clue to understanding behavior. For example, a single child may be middle-class, white, Presbyterian, born in New England but schooled in California, second-generation Scotch, and so forth. Each of these factors contributes something to his development; the particular "whole" they form is unique to him. With our awareness of the role of perception, and our stress on individuality, the ultimate question to be asked is, What does it mean to the child?

The Effects on Children

Just what effects do cultural influences have upon the child? Of course, we can make the sweeping generalization that culture and personality are part and parcel of each other, but that does not help us very much. We need to get beyond this anthropological truth to seek out the more specific effects. If we could but look at ourselves, particularly when we travel abroad, we would see the mark of our

national character—what cultural anthropologists call our “basic personality structure”—upon us. It permeates our complete being. If we turn our focus upon the growing child of school age, we see it manifested not only in the total behavior of the child but also in many particular ways: in scholastic performance, self-concepts, attitudes toward others. The child is not purely a cultural being, but he cannot be viewed in isolation from his culture.

Test and Scholastic Performance

Many studies have been made concerning the effects of social class and ethnic membership on performance on intelligence and achievement tests, and the ability to learn academic materials in school. Two major problems which confront us in understanding the relationship between cultural factors and test performance are the degree of bias built into the tests or the school situations themselves, and the control of all the other variables which influence test performance. Can we really say that cultural differences *cause* test differences?

In relation to the “built-in” bias of the tests themselves, Pinneau and Jones, on the basis of intensive review (1952–1958) of the literature, conclude: “The consensus of evidence now indicates that social status differences in intelligence cannot be fully accounted for in terms of cultural bias” (Pinneau and Jones, 1958, p. 394). Even on supposedly “culture-fair” tests, differences still exist favoring middle-class children over lower-class children. So many cultural variables are at work (motivation, self-concept, parents’ education, presence of books in the home, language used in the home, aspirations for children) that it would seem reasonable to conclude that the class position of the child plays a role in influencing his performance on intelligence tests. This begs the question of the genetic factor in intelligence; but from our transactional point of view, and with our notion of the heredity-environment relationship, this seems legitimate. In stating that there is a relationship, we are not denying the contribution of biological and self factors.

Similarly, research has demonstrated that ethnic culture influences performance. Anastasi and Cordova used the nonverbal, Cattell “culture-free” test on Puerto Rican bilingual children in New York. They found that not only did they score lower than the norms, but also that sex and order of language instruction affected results. The girls

did better when they received instructions first in Spanish and then English on the retest, the boys reversed this order. They report, "Each culture stimulates the development of certain abilities and interests and inhibits others. The resulting psychological differences will be inevitably reflected in test performance, as in any other behavior of individuals reared in diverse cultural settings" (Anastasi and Cordova, 1953, p. 6). Even the discrepancy between boys and girls can be understood on the basis of the difference in sex roles and expectations in the Latin culture.

Negro children also suffer by comparison on such tests. Even pre-school children seem to be affected by their awareness of being Negro and faced with a white tester. Language scores at age two were "apparently due to lack of verbal responsiveness, rather than poor comprehension of language." Further, "This apparent early awareness of racial differences and loss of rapport has serious implications . . . particularly in the use of verbal items on intelligence testing" (Pasamanick and Knobloch, 1955, p. 402).

A very careful study of language development of 100 lower-class white and Negro children of working mothers in New York City revealed differences in the 5-year-olds tested. Although all the examiners were white, the researchers believe that in this situation it was not a factor because these children, attending day-care centers, were used to white teachers and other adults. The children were drawn from both mixed and unmixed neighborhoods. The researchers found not only that more mature sentence types were used by the whites, but also that Negro boys surpassed girls in sentence length, particularly when those children were from unmixed neighborhoods. The reverse was true in the white groups. There was no race difference on Goodenough Draw-A-Man IQ, a nonverbal measure, but the girls were superior to the boys on this test (Anastasi and D'Angelo, 1952). We see again that cultural background and expectations influence language performance.

School achievement, as we would expect, is also affected by the cultural background of the home. Differences in expectation for achievement are internalized by the child through identification, and he sets standards for himself accordingly. Differences in the actual provision of experience acts to effect the growth of reading skill. In addition to the many physiological and self-factors which contribute heavily to the child's ability and readiness, cultural vari-

ables contribute their share. Specifically, such factors as number of books in the home and educational level of the parents are definitely and positively related to reading ability, while occupational status of the father shows some relationship (Sheldon and Carrillo, 1952). Eight hundred and sixty-eight children were studied (10 percent of all children in 8 schools in central New York State) to see what dynamic factors (e.g., parental controls, expectations, communication) might be related to reading in addition to the physical variables mentioned above. A second investigation showed that "Almost three times more superior readers than poor readers are expected by their parents to attend college" (Sheldon and Cutts, 1953, p. 520).

When we look, in the next chapter, at the school itself as a social agency, we shall see that the school often contributes to increasing the spread between the classes rather than to diminishing the gap.

Thus, apart from the affectional climate in the home, the cultural standing and level of aspiration of the parents play roles in affecting both the academic performance of their children in school and the development of the intellectual powers within the child. Perception, we know, is a product of experience, and experience consists of transactions between organism and environment including the culture. Children growing up in any culture make somewhat different perceptions of what is real, what is important, or what is meaningful, from those developing in another culture. Combs (1952), for example, takes the position that perceptions are restricted to the environmental conditions surrounding the individual. This concept, of course, fits in with the ecological position of Barker which we described earlier in the chapter. It is no great wonder, then, that we see performance differences in children and recognize that these differences are not wholly biological in origin, but owe their presence to cultural opportunities of developing perceptions and self.

Self-Concepts and Self-Evaluation

Cultural forces affect not only intellectual performance but also the total behavior of the child. What does it mean to the child to be lower-class, or Negro, or Southern white? Each group, which is either a minority or perceives itself to be one, mobilizes its energies and defenses in keeping with its concept of itself as a group. Just as the individual denies or distorts perceptions to preserve his self,

so does the group. The child learns early that he is living in a somewhat "alien" world, a world hostile to his group, a world from which he must shield himself. "They" are different from "us," he is told by the actions of his parents, his older siblings, and the other adult members of his group. We noted above that even 2-year-olds were aware of color difference. Northern children rarely fight the Civil War in play activities and are not even highly aware that they are "Yankees"; Southern white children, on the other hand, *are* highly aware of their "Rebel" status.

The first effect, then, of ethnic group or class group membership is a heightened awareness of oneself as different and a corresponding perceptual defense for interpreting the vicissitudes of fortune. The child learns to expect unequal treatment, and develops concepts of himself that often tend to reinforce the stereotype. Since one's self-image is learned through evaluational interaction with adults, the child learns from his experiences with the nonmembers of his group to evaluate himself in a certain way. He tends to take over the majority's attitude and thus keeps the cycle going. There is some evidence to indicate that Negro adolescents are very sensitive and defensive about their position, that they exhibit a great deal of pride of race but that they are unable to think constructively about the problem (Ireland, 1951). These conclusions support the concept of perceptual defense and threat to the self-concept of minority group members. Similarly, studies of Jewish children show early awareness of their Jewishness and increased sensitivity to environmental pressures (Clark, 1954).

Performance may be influenced not only because the perceptual field is reduced when threatened, but also because the particular culture may or may not value certain types of activities, may teach certain types of activities, or may teach certain ways of dealing with situations. For example, the Navaho, when faced with a novel situation, tends to sit tight and do nothing, to be what Americans might term "rigid" in shifting his level of aspiration (Bruner and Rotter, 1953). Middle-class Americans approach testing situations with a firm belief in competition, individuality, and the value of achievement. Achievement in school reflects this basic approach to life.

We may conclude that the individual's self-concept, his self-evaluation, is strongly influenced by the cultural factors in his life situation. An understanding of what it means to be a member of a

particular culture can only be inferred by the nonmember, but is necessary for any full understanding of behavior.

Attitudes Toward Others

Just as self-concepts are based upon cultural experiences, so are concepts of others. Each culture is somewhat ethnocentric; that is, it teaches and believes it has found the "good life," the "right" way to live, and that persons from other societies are either misguided or inferior. If they could only see "our" way, and if they had the intelligence, they would become like "us." The United States' efforts in Germany and Japan after World War II reflect this belief, as do the earlier colonial attitudes of the major European powers and the current attitude of the Soviet Union. Since the American culture is not a completely unified one, the various subcultures also reflect this ethnocentrism. Indeed, one of the major concerns of teachers is the presence in their classrooms of large numbers of lower-class children who do not wish to become middle-class like their teachers!

One of the attitudes which develop is the predisposition on the part of the child to see people from other groups as being all alike, whereas he recognizes the range of differences within his own group. This can be seen not only across national lines, but also between generations. Adults tend to perceive all adolescents as alike; pupils tend to perceive all teachers as alike. Although individual members may be exempted with the usual, "You're not like the others," the stereotype tends to be maintained.

Even social scientists are not beyond their prejudices. Although cultural anthropologists have preached the viewpoint of cultural relativism, American students of Japan, writing during World War II, assumed the Japanese to be abnormal. "The simple fact that the Japanese are human beings who might be normal in Japan has been more or less ignored" in favor of the "somewhat ethnocentric American psychological approach that stamps the Japanese as an abnormal, neurotic people . . ." (Kerlinger, 1953, p. 251).

Indian exchange students, viewing the United States, reflected their perceptual experiences based upon their culturally acquired attitudes. Many of them said: "America is educating the body and mind but not the spirit. Man consists of all three. Unless you educate the spirit you are not fulfilling the true purposes of education." "In the United States, people usually have not developed a sense of

values. They need to learn the art of living; they already know how to make a living, how to accumulate. They rush and bustle but don't know how to live. Basic moral values are lacking" (Kiell, 1951, p. 1953).

Cultural perceptual distortion exists in all of us; it can be understood through our understanding of the process of differentiation and the role of experience. We saw in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 that development of concepts requires experience, that familiarity influences acceptance, that new perceptions are hazy and ill-formed. Children growing up in any society thus are limited to experiences within it, and cannot perceive other ways of life clearly. They experience also the attitudes and beliefs which exist in their culture and, when they do have opportunities to meet and be with others, these contacts may either be on a nonegalitarian or artificial basis, or may be interpreted so as to reinforce their current attitude.

In summary, the self of the child is, to a great extent, a product of the experiences which his culture provides for him. It gives him ways to organize his perceptions through its language structure and communications, it brings him into contact or prevents him from having relationships with certain people, it teaches him the values he should hold as "good" and the attitudes he should hold toward self and others.

The culture is taught primarily through the people who surround the child, and he learns through the processes of identification with these people and through differentiation. As he emerges from the home, he carries with him his family culture, a distillation of the various subcultures to which he belongs. His experiences in school and in the world at large continue to both enhance and modify his concept of self and his *Weltanschauung*, his view of the world.

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* Starred items are suggested additional readings.

"School Days, School Days"

The School as a Social Institution

Second only to the family in its impact upon the self of the child is the school. Up until the time of the child's entry into school, the family has constituted a buffer, constantly at hand to interpret experience. When playing, watching TV, or being read to, the child has virtually immediate access to a parent or parent-surrogate for explanation, support, and information. Going to school changes all this. He moves into a new society, with its own way of life—the school culture. He must come to grips with it all alone, without the aid of parents. Truly, he is "on his own" for the first time. Of course, in the modern school there are such institutions as the PTA and conferences, but the ability of the parent to intercede directly in the experiences of the child is gone for good. To some parents, and some children, this is a distressing thing; to others, it is a cheerfully accepted sign of growing up. The self-concepts held by parent and child will markedly influence the way in which this separation is faced and the way in which the school will make its impact upon the child.

We know that schools teach not only the "fundamentals," but also values and behavior patterns, concepts of world and self, and the whole gamut of information, both formal and informal, which is necessary to the child in the process of becoming an adult in contemporary society.

What Schools Are Versus What Schools Ought To Be

As with any social institution in a changing, pluralistic culture, there is considerable disagreement as to what schooling should be. The mass media often contain both attacks and praise (although far more of the former). Labels are pinned on points of view, such as "traditional" and "progressive," and parents ask, "Why isn't arithmetic taught the way I learned it?" or "Why do they have family life courses in high school?" Trends of concern for the gifted dominate educational literature, followed by waves of concern for the retarded. No one seems to be satisfied with the school as it is; everyone wants to remake it in terms of his own ideas.

The important fact to the child is that attitudes toward school held by his parents are communicated to him. He knows school only as it is today, for him. He cannot comprehend, if he goes to a school with movable furniture, that his father's school had nailed-down desks, lined up in rows. He cannot comprehend that his parents' reactions toward school may stem from their uncertainties or from their own unfortunate experiences with school as it was. Controversies over "phonics," "social promotion," and "grouping" may rage around him; he only knows what he experiences and what his parents communicate to him.

Educational literature, full of suggestions for what schools *should be*, offers little help in knowing what schools *are*. In order to understand school as it is experienced by the child, we need to look at what practices currently exist; what schools *are*.

Schools as Reflecting the Community's Values

By and large, what is taught in a school and how it is taught is governed not by the educational theoretician alone, and not the classroom teachers themselves, but also by the local community and the state. School administrators are not independent agents, but are influenced by the power structure of the community. Often they have no tenure as administrators, and must conform to what boards of education, composed of laymen, demand. Various groups within the community attempt to influence a board. No school is free of this, so no school is purely "progressive" or "traditional"; it reflects the total of all the varying ideas and pressures placed upon it and is usually an unintegrated compromise. Actually, for the child, it is a

rare school that possesses (and follows) an integrated philosophy of education. Each teacher in turn helps to shape the image of school by his own interpretation of life and his concept of the role that schooling plays in living.

Changes in curriculum require the mutual consent of school and community personnel. The school acts to teach and reinforce those values and skills perceived by the community as desirable, or at least those perceived by the power elements of the community. "If the conflict over vocational schools, for example, is resolved in favor of the point of view of labor, then we must conclude that labor groups possess sufficient political power in the community to make their point of view prevail" (Havighurst and Neugarten, 1957, p. 218).

A comprehensive review of the literature on the power structure of the community and the school (Hines and Curran, 1955) reveals that each community, to a certain extent, has its own particular alignment, but that, generally, newspapers and organizations bring pressure to bear; the lower-class and ethnic minorities have less than proportional influence. School board members are usually well-educated business or professional people with children in school. The control of education thus rests in the hands of middle-class, conservative people. Schools reflect their views.

The general American society also contributes to shaping schools. Hollinshead said:

We had no established religion to say what the value system of our schools should be; no central ministry of education to say what the schools should teach or how they should teach it; there was a practical slant from Franklin to enable schools to teach all kinds of skills; guidance from Jefferson to provide a wide base for the selection of talent; statesmanship from Lincoln to sign the Morrill Act to create people's universities; clairvoyance from Eliot to break the stranglehold of the traditional curriculum; wisdom from our educational philosophers—James, Dewey, and Whitehead—to help shape our thoughts; common sense from thousands of public boards of education and private boards of trustees to let their schools be free to illuminate the way which would allow Americans to carry out the dream of those who had passed near the outstretched arm of the Statue of Liberty.¹

¹ Byron S. Hollinshead, "Education in America," commencement address, University of Florida, 1958.

Not only historical national forces, but also current forces play roles. Mobility patterns are such that parents at PTA meetings in one state refer to what schools were doing in the state they just left.

Textbook publishers, too, help to shape what happens in the classroom through their books, their extra "guides" and other publications, and through the resource people they furnish to school districts for in-service teacher training.

All told, what the child will experience in school is a conglomerate of the American culture, with certain middle-class, conservative values and behavior patterns receiving more emphasis. No school teaches a culture alien to the "American Way." The child of middle-class parents will generally find the school reinforcing the values being taught in the home while it also presents him with the "3 R's."

We mentioned above that the individual teacher in the classroom takes the generalized institution of "school" and modifies it in his own terms. This does not create conflicts between administrator and teacher, or between school board and teacher; in fact, it actually seems to reinforce the general orientation of the school.

Recent studies of the social origins of teachers in Texas and Detroit show that they now come from a wide variety of backgrounds rather than only from the stereotyped white-collar middle class. Although the stereotype is still true of elementary teachers, it is not so for high school teachers in urban areas whose family backgrounds may be lower class. In Detroit, for example, many more younger (under 40) teachers come from labor backgrounds than in the older (over 40) age group. Table 8.1 presents the results of the Detroit study, showing also that the fields of industrial education, home economics, and physical education are selected more by the labor group. Football scholarships and the GI bills may have something to do with this increase. A Texas study (see Table 8.2) shows that the upper-lower class contributes about 20 percent of the teacher population, with no contribution from the rest of the lower class.

What does this mean in classroom practice? Even though we cannot and should not stereotype class membership, teachers are either predominately middle class or move into the middle class. "In any event, however, no matter what their initial social status, almost all teachers give allegiance to the basic middle class values in the areas of personal ambition and morality. . . . Children from families

TABLE 8.1

Family Background of 150 Texas School People

Sample Populations	Upper-Class	Upper-Middle	Lower-Middle	Upper-Lower	Total
Elementary	1	17	22	10	50
Secondary	2	14	26	8	50
Counselors	0	9	11	5	25
Administrators	0	12	8	5	25
Total	3	52	87	28	150

SOURCE: Reprinted from *The Teacher's Role in American Society*, Lindley J. Stiles, ed., 1957, Harper. Used by permission.

TABLE 8.2

Choice of Teaching Field, Classification by Occupations
of Students' Fathers^a in Detroit

Teaching Field	OCCUPATION OF FATHER		
	Professional, Business, Other		
	White-Collar	Labor	Other
Kindergarten	8	4	2
Elementary homeroom	34	25	9
Commercial	3	0	0
Social studies	7	10	6
Language, library, speech, science, and English	8	7	1
Music	7	6	0
Art	17	8	4
Physical education	4	7	6
Industrial education and home economics	2	8	2
Miscellaneous	5	3	1

^a The classification of labor is becoming increasingly diverse. This category likely includes some who are in the lower echelons of management and others whose incomes make possible a fairly high standard of living.

SOURCE: Reprinted from *The Teacher's Role in American Society*, Lindley J. Stiles, ed., 1957, Harper. Used by permission.

lowest in the socioeconomic scale tend to find school a place of alien standards" (Wattenberg *et al.*, 1957, p. 69).

Teachers tend to encourage and favor those children whom they "understand"—those children whose homes are like theirs, whose dress and speech are like theirs, whose "manners" are "good," whose parents value what the teachers value. These biases show in their behavior. Among other examples, third-grade teachers seemed to behave differently toward middle class and lower class children, having a more favorable "mental health" relationship with the former (Hoehn, 1954).

In addition to social class, sex role has an influence. The elementary school, with some few exceptions in urban areas, is largely a feminine institution. Teachers tend to favor behavior and to make similar demands upon boys and girls. Girls are more able to meet these, and all indices of difficulty in school show a significantly greater number of boys than girls "in trouble." Even sex differences in language development may rest partly on this base.

A word of caution must be inserted here. Each teacher is a unique individual, and his self reflects his own organization and assignment of meaning to his own cultural background. How the teacher will behave depends upon his own perception of his origins, his own personal goals, frustrations, and aspirations. (See Chapter 11 for some specific examples of this.) Nevertheless, he cannot overlook the impact of his own particular subculture.

Schools Have a Culture

Perhaps the best way to understand the role of the school is through the adoption of the concept that the school is a culture, a way of life, and that it can be studied as such. The school has values and ways of communicating these; it has a series of expectations and a series of routines of communicating these; it has an interpersonal climate in which socialization occurs; it operates in a physical setting which also conveys its value system.

Each school may be viewed as a subsociety, possessing its own way of life. Students entering this school must learn its culture, which may or may not be in harmony with the culture learned at home. Through the socialization processes taking place in the school culture, each child broadens his self-picture and either modifies or

strengthens it. He learns, in addition, the culturally approved patterns of thought and behavior and either accepts, modifies, or rejects these, based upon the self with which he came to school. As in any culture, there are mores and folkways, both written and unwritten, which govern the behavior of most of the members and systems of rules to "discipline" those who don't. The child leaving home and entering the school thus has a whole range of new cultural experiences to integrate into his growing self.

Grouping and Grading

In the street on the way to school or in the school bus or in the neighborhood, the child mixes with children of various ages. He is conscious of his own age, but it isn't until he steps inside the door of the school building that age becomes a crucial fact. If he is born a day too late, he waits a whole year to enter. Being in the first grade or second grade, or whatever grade, becomes a dominant factor. It governs his access to certain age-mates or peers, it influences his status within the school, it even affects what time he may eat lunch! The concept of grade level, although several school districts are attempting to use ungraded "primary" classes, is a major factor in influencing expectations and identifications. Even the teacher identifies himself by the grade he teaches.

Grade levels based on chronological age create a false sense of homogeneity in the parents' and teachers' thoughts. They tend to think of the "typical" or "average" second-grader, and lose sight of the wide range of individual differences among the children. Testing programs and other administrative devices all share in attempting to create homogeneity where little exists. In spite of much research on promotion and grade-level standards, schools are still basically grade-level oriented, and as much as one-third of a class of first-graders may be "repeaters." Indeed, this is one area in which vocal pressure seems to be leading us backward, toward a more rigid concept of "standards" in the face of all we know about individual human development.

What does this mean to the child? What concepts of self are fostered by this? Prescott, after surveying the research, reports:

Research has shown that holding children back to repeat a grade while their friends move ahead has very unwholesome effects upon their behavior and adjustment. Nonpromoted children exhibited more trouble-

some behavior, were more inattentive, less cooperative, more easily discouraged, and worried about their failure. They choose companions from among their former classmates rather than from among their current classmates. Nonpromotion gives a child a difficult adjustment problem and often leads to truancy and leaving school. . . .

Nonpromotion does not maintain graded school standards, reduce variation within grades, provide good motivation, enable slow learners to catch up, or bring about better adjustment in pupils. In other words, teachers' tasks are not simplified by the practice of "failing" children, but on the contrary may be made more difficult. . . .

"Failing" children who are promoted actually show greater progress than similar pupils who are held back. Obviously the enforcement of grade-level standards defeats its purpose. . . . So objective research has demonstrated the superiority in practice of regarding learning as a continuous development for each child regardless of the class group in which he is placed [Prescott, 1957, pp. 435-436].

Within a class, teachers "group" for reading, with three groups being the typical pattern. One wonders here, too, what impact being in the "slow-reading" group has upon the self-concept of the child. Many teachers use systems of individualized reading, or flexible grouping, and these would seem to be more desirable.

It is not only in the elementary school that grade-level grouping and grading present to the child a set of hurdles that influences his self-picture. The secondary school, in its attempts to meet individual needs through separate "tracks" for academic, general, commercial, and vocational students, its "accelerated" classes and its "general math" courses, may actually demonstrate a hierarchy of values to the adolescent. He may perceive that the academic student is "worth more" than the vocational student in the eyes of the community. The student who is shunted into "general math" or "general science" or denied admission to accelerated programs may see high school as a threatening, defeating experience. Conversely, the gifted youngster may wonder whether anyone is interested in him as a person rather than as a natural resource. He may be "counseled" into advanced algebra in the eighth grade when he has little desire for a scientific career.

The very organization of the school—its promotion policies and the methods used by teachers to organize their own classes—provides guideposts for the child's behavior. These are ways in which the pupil is shown what and who is important in this new culture. He soon learns "the ropes." He sees that there are cues in the behavior of teachers which show him what to do. The teacher and the school

become new anchorage points in his perceptual field. Not only can the school grounds be placed physically on a map, they can be placed upon the child's psychological map. The way of life of the school, its culture, becomes incorporated into his way of life.

This school culture may be examined by studying its status arrangements, its physical environment, its daily pattern of activity, and its stated goals. Each of these impart information to the child about how he should behave, what he should learn, what his self should become.

Status Relationships

Three kinds of status relationships exist in a school culture—those between administrator and faculty, within the faculty, and within the student body. Our concern is not the status relationship *per se*, but its effect upon children's development.

The way in which the principal plays his assigned status role has direct bearings upon the behavior of children. Two studies may serve to illustrate this point.

The first study was in an elementary school described by its faculty and by research observers as rigid and authoritarian. The teachers, observers recorded, "in a way, seemed to be afraid of her [the principal], reporting like children on what they had done and how they managed" (Taba, 1955, p. 63). The children's value patterns were found to present a picture of social distance, immature interpersonal perceptions, and too much emphasis on competitive comparison.

Second, as a part of the Kellogg studies in educational administration, it was found that pupils' attitudes were influenced by the principal's behavior. In an investigation of principal, teacher, and pupil behavior in Tampa, Florida, it was found that if the principal were autocratic, pupils expressed unfavorable attitudes toward self, school, and other students. The more democratic the principal, the more favorable the attitude of pupils (Maynard, 1955).

Status relationships among faculty members are influenced by length of service, degrees held, social origins, and the subjects one teaches. Physical education teachers may form cliques for protection from the more "academic" faculty members. This status arrangement in a faculty affects its morale and productivity, which, in turn, affect the learning climate for youngsters.

School policies often reflect the status situation: children are ex-

cused from certain classes for trips or other extracurricular activities, but not allowed to "cut" some others. The students soon learn what subjects are considered really important by the school. In one high school, for example, chemistry laboratory space was reduced so there could be more room for driver-education classes; in another, the core period was the one always affected by extra band practice, rehearsals for the junior play, and the like. What possible concepts could students develop other than that chemistry and core were less significant than driver education and band?

Children are exposed to these status relationships because the teachers often make them explicit. In an intermediate-grade classroom, the following incident occurred:

Mrs. Jones announced, "Today for physical education we will have a rhythm lesson."

Mark's hand went up. "Yes, Mark?"

"Coach Harris told us boys we could play football today."

Mrs. Jones: "Coach Harris made a mistake. Each Friday at 10 o'clock will be your rhythm lesson."

The most significant status relationships, however, are not the ones among adults, but the ones among the pupils themselves—the peer-status hierarchy. This is so vital that Chapter 9 is focused on the peer culture itself, and the chapters on adolescence will include material on peer relationships during that period.

Physical Plant

In building new schools, there is a definite relationship between the philosophy of education held and the type of building erected. In effect, the physical plant reveals the culture of the school as much as the skyscrapers and other architectural activities reveal the culture of the city. This is perhaps even more true of schools, because it occurs by design. The people pass bond issues to build school buildings, but not to build commercial structures. Decisions are made to build gymnasiums before libraries, auditoriums before kindergarten rooms, administrative wings at a sacrifice to other uses of space. All these choices reflect what the powers controlling school budgets believe to be important. They present, in brick and steel, the adults' notions of what schools ought to be.

The changes in thought about the nature of the learning process, and the increased knowledge about child and adolescent develop-

ment, have wrought changes in school buildings. The following is a description of one new (1958) school:

Features of the buildings reflect the faculty's point of view about learning. . . . The physical setting reflects conditions deemed essential for effective teaching and learning. For example, the elementary rooms are spacious, 32-feet square, with adequate natural lighting through translucent windows in the ceiling and sliding glass doors and windows on the north side. Abundant shelves and closets are built into the other three walls—enough to satisfy the most materials-conscious teacher. Each classroom in grades kindergarten through eight is provided with a sink, drinking fountain, and work shelves. In addition, classrooms in grades kindergarten through three have boys' and girls' rest rooms.

Equipment for science, art, crafts, and music is comfortably housed. Taking advantage of Florida's year-round temperate climate, outdoor class space, adjacent to the elementary classroom, provides that extra room a teacher so often desires. These outdoor classrooms are equipped with work benches, tool sheds, water fountains, and space for plantings. Although not having the outdoor space feature, the high school rooms are large and well-equipped. The various departments are housed in separate buildings: one for science, others for art and industrial arts, home economics, and business education. Fourteen general purpose rooms are provided for core and other subject areas. Each classroom has its own unique color scheme and is pleasant, comfortable, and attractive.

A small creek, winding through the center of the campus, separates the elementary from the secondary classrooms. The service areas are located along the creek. Included in the service areas are an administration unit, a psychological and health clinic, auditorium, music rooms, materials center and library, and a spacious cafeteria [Myers, Hill, and White, 1959, pp. 371-372].

The analytical observer can deduce, from his observations of the building itself, something about the adult world's beliefs about how children learn and what children should learn. Of course, old buildings still much in use may not reflect the changes in attitudes toward children and learning. Many a teacher has been frustrated in his attempts to provide a good, flexible learning situation in a room in which all the chairs are nailed to the floor.

The "Hidden Agenda"—Routines and Procedures

While all the above factors influence the child, the actual day-to-day operations of his classroom—the interpersonal relations, the rules and regulations, the experiences which are provided—are the most crucial factors, taken for granted by both teacher and pupil. The

many routines which permeate the daily activities are almost a "part of the scenery."

Beginning with the first day in school and extending through graduate work is the unending concept of clock time: the child is expected to learn that there is a time to play, a time to rest, a "clean-up" time, a time to listen, etc. The older child or adolescent in the departmentalized situation is expected to learn in 40- or 50-minute intervals, shift his focus, and learn something different in the next "period." The lesson of the clock is perhaps essential in a modern, industrial world. Unfortunately, it may mean that young children are prevented from staying with a highly interesting task and forced to shift their focus to other activities.

If we realize that motivation is self-oriented, then we might well question the highly time-oriented, splinter and compartment approach to education which is so widespread. Children soon learn, it is true, to "adjust" to time pressures, but this does not mean that such pressures are the most desirable. Notions of attention span being related to age might also be questioned when we can observe children thoroughly engrossed for long periods of time in activities which are meaningful to them. Many good elementary classrooms provide for flexible scheduling (of activities within the classroom) to allow children to express and meet their individual needs.

A standard activity in virtually all schools is "opening exercise." The following is an excerpt from an observation in a primary grade—the first class meeting in January, 1959. The observer, seated in an observation booth, writes:

The class was sitting crosslegged on the floor and Mrs. Hall was collecting money for something. Mrs. Hall said, "Mark owes 3×30 cents and he has a dollar, how much does he get back in change?" Jeff raised his hand and yelled, "10¢." Mrs. Hall said, "That's very good, Jeff." Another boy said, "Joe said 10¢ too!" Mrs. Hall said, "Oh, I didn't hear him." The class said, "Yes, I heard him," and "Joe said it too." Joe said, "Yes, I knew that answer." The class then took turns going to the front of the room and telling the class what Santa gave them for Christmas and their experiences over the holidays. (I didn't see any sign of ending the math lesson and beginning the story telling). Sally explained a certain game she had received for Christmas. Joe sat crosslegged in the front row and said, "Does the game have beads on which to count?" Sally said, "Yes, it does." Joe said, "Oh, well, I've seen one like that before."

Mrs. Hall said, "Class, let's help Karen so she can get roll." The girls

all stood up and counted off, then they sat down and the boys did the same thing. Joe said, "Warren isn't here today." Mrs. Hall said, "Thank you, Joe; now, Karen, take the list to the office." The class then continued the story telling. Mrs. Hall said, "Ann will be the last one to share her experience over Christmas, with the class." Joe sighed and said, "Oh, gosh." Mrs. Hall said, "We have to start something else, Joe." Joe sighed again and put his fingers in his mouth. Mrs. Hall said, "Everyone stand," after Ann had finished her story. The class stood and started singing, "The Grand Old Flag," "My Country 'Tis of Thee," and "America." Mrs. Hall said, "Stand straight." Joe straightened up and put his hands behind him. The class then said the "Our Father" and the "Pledge of Allegiance" while Hal held the flag at the front of the room. The class sat down on the floor after pledging the flag.

An analysis of this observation reveals a number of values and concepts being presented—religion (or at least the child's image of Christmas), patriotism, time, numbers, support for each other, obedience to adult authority, the sharing of experiences. Of course, some of these are not explicit, but they are still present. A more explicit statement is often encountered on the blackboard or bulletin board, which often contains the standards (or at least the teacher's standards) of conduct for the room. One such list, labelled "Good Citizens in the Fourth Grade," contained these items: "A good citizen listens, is responsible, pays attention, sticks to his job, is thoughtful of others, is honest, is helpful, shares with others."

Recognizing that each school is a separate subculture and that we cannot generalize from one study, observers of classroom behavior in a kindergarten-twelve-grade school perceived the following values being taught through ordinary classroom activities in at least half the rooms observed: cooperation and group living; the importance of sharing both materials and experiences; respect for the rights of others; acceptance of individual responsibility for conduct and learning; the development of increased capacity to express feelings and insights through various media; the importance of physical health; pupil participation in decision-making as an aspect of democracy; religion and ethics; cleanliness, neatness and order; and respect for the authority and knowledge of the teacher (Gordon, 1959).

Outside the classroom the extracurricular life of the school also demonstrates values to the child. Club membership, cliques, student activities, elections of officers all serve either to spread the school's culture or to isolate certain segments of the school population from

the main stream. This seems to be true in elementary schools as well as in high schools.

Based upon an analysis of class and ethnic status and the culture of several schools, Taba concludes: "Usually there is a correlation between the parental economic status and school participation; students whose families have community status have status in school. Their chances of developing their self-expectations, both in school and at home, are great, while others are deprived of such chances in both" (Taba, 1955, p. 67).

Academic Expectations

Nowhere in our above discussion have we dealt with the question of what, specifically and consciously, the school sets out to teach the child. Most of the culture of the school exists and functions at a low level of awareness on the part of the adult. Schools traditionally teach subject matter and intellectual skills. These are certainly perceived by both teacher and pupil as the main job of the school. In the modern world, each child needs to know as much as he can about other peoples, about science and technology, about effective communication with others, about his cultural heritage, his system of government, and the like. Both the pupil and his teachers expect him to learn these things at school.

Although the pupil may not use the teacher's words to describe his view of school, he does know that there are, and should be, certain academic expectations. The child entering first grade expects to learn how to read and write, and may expect to learn these the first day. The youngster entering junior high expects to move into a departmentalized subject matter system in which English is taught separately from Math, and even the Social Studies may be divided into History, Geography, Civics, Economics, etc.

We may take for granted that all schools teach academic knowledge and skills, and turn our attention to the behavioral and attitudinal expectations which accompany the teaching of the "3 R's."

Just what, specifically, are schools expecting their pupils to learn? Again, no generalizations can be made which apply to all schools, beyond very broad statements. With the American concept of decentralized, local school control, two schools in the same city may have somewhat different curriculums. With this reservation in mind, we can gain some insights into what schools are teaching.

Behavioral and Attitudinal Expectations

We have already mentioned some of the behavioral expectations taught through routines and regulations. Again, any list would be applicable only to a given school. One source of information is publishers' guides which contain some idea of what is being stressed. We cannot know whether these materials are being used in any given situation; only a local study can establish that. For example, a booklet by Scott, Foresman & Company is entitled, *Teachers Can Help Middle-Graders Learn to Do Their Own Research*, and subtitled, "Some ways the naturally curious middle-graders can be led to apply basic reading skills to fact finding" (Scott, Foresman, 1956). A chart, an *Index of Health and Safety Content* (Scott, Foresman, 1959), contains mental and social health suggestions for grades one to five concerning the handling of feelings, developing wholesome attitudes, learning to be a good sport, understanding that people are different, etc. Both of these materials reveal behavioral expectations for children.

The Ojemann work in Iowa is an excellent example of teaching consciously for the creation of attitudes. The purpose of this program is to help children to develop a "causal" orientation toward behavior, an orientation that "recognizes that human behavior is produced by many factors and that one can distinguish between an approach to a given behavior incident which recognizes and takes into account the variety of factors that may have produced it as compared with an approach that considers mainly the overt form of the behavior" (Ojemann *et al.*, 1955, p. 95).

In one school, a concerted effort was made to change the cleavage pattern which existed because of social class background; because the teachers felt that "each teacher has the opportunity, if not the obligation, to do as much as she can to establish democratic attitudes in children. . . . The social interaction between the children in the classroom should lead to their natural acceptance of social equality. . . ." (Garry, 1956, pp. 358-359). The work in intergroup education sponsored by the American Council on Education is still another example of creating a school climate in which certain attitudes are conveyed.

Attitudes toward responsibility, too, can be fostered or hindered, depending upon the school's expectations. An illustration of fostering

a sense of responsibility is contained in this note sent to parents of pupils in the P. K. Yonge Laboratory School at the University of Florida:

Dear Parents of Kindergarten Children:

The kindergarten children enjoyed their first visit to the library this morning and each child has brought home a library book of his choice. We hope you will enjoy it with him.

The book will be due in a week but we have found that many children get a new library book every day. No fines are charged for overdue books. We feel that borrowing and using library books and records is a good way for the child to learn responsibility for caring for the material and for returning it on time. We like to put the emphasis on the responsibility rather than on the fine. . . .

Learning to evaluate, to think critically, to express oneself, are all perceived as important goals of education in today's schools.

Summary

The school culture demonstrates constantly to the child how it expects him to behave, and what values the adults who mold the culture believe to be important.

This is done through the organization and daily way of life of the school. The school itself reflects the attitudes and values of the community, state, and nation, or, at the least, the attitudes of the middle-class segment of the general population. The school, far from being "radical" and "extreme," is essentially a conservator of the cultural values and serves as society's agent in passing these values to the child.

If the self develops through transactions with the environment, it would certainly follow that most children learn to behave and to view themselves in the way in which their teachers expect. Although each child perceives the school in his own way, the school situation which is provided for him plays a tremendous and often overlooked role in determining the final outcome—the self-concept of the child.

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The World of Peers

The Peer Society

In our efforts to comprehend the various environmental forces which exert their influence upon the developing self of the child, we have investigated the adult world—the family, the mass media, and the school. The child, however, lives in two worlds: an adult world and a child world. In Chapter 5, we saw that he begins to live in a world of peers before he goes to school; but it isn't until he is in school that the world of peers assumes a commanding position in his life. In terms of his perceptions, peers move from being at fairly low levels of awareness and importance to a very high level of awareness and importance. His peers exert tremendous influence upon his behavior, his attitudes, and his view of self. If all the world's the stage that Shakespeare claimed, children and adolescents are playing primarily to an audience of their peers. Their peers sit in the front rows and the box seats; parents and teachers are now relegated to the back rows and the balcony.

Particularly in an urban, industrial society, the world of peers assumes an important cultural role. In order to understand the behavior of the child and adolescent, we need to gain some general knowledge of the society in which he lives—the peer society.

This chapter will discuss the concept of the peer society in general. It will also present information mostly about preadolescent peer groups. Later chapters will include sections on the adolescent peer society as it relates to the total self-development of early and late

adolescence. The preadolescent's perceptions of his peers will be included in the next chapter. This will permit us to get an overview of the peer world and then see this peer world at work in the life of the individual.

Every society possesses language, shared values, standards of behavior, rituals, tasks which need to be performed for survival, an organizational framework, a sense of "we-ness." In other words, every society possesses a culture—a way of life. We saw this in relation to the American society. The peer society is a subsociety in the general American scene. In turn, it is divided into subsocieties which are essentially developmental-age-graded. A peer subsociety might be defined as containing all the children of a particular developmental age who have communication with each other, although not necessarily a face-to-face relationship. Within this peer society is the more intimate and more vital subgroup—the peer group. Any peer society contains a number of peer groups. These are the face-to-face, more organized and integrated, selective groups in which the peer culture is carried and taught.

Reasons for Formation

Why do these groups form? What pushes children to join? What do they "get" from them?

One reason can be seen in the very name sociologists have given these groups. They are the *peer* groups, a society of people on a par with each other. Needs for acceptance, for belonging, for experiencing are all provided after a fashion by the adults, but it is only in the peer society that the child can meet these needs as an equal. "In the shadow of superordinate adults he cannot gain recognition, play differentiated roles, practice social skills or interact with others except as a dependent and subordinate figure" (Ausubel, 1958, p. 458).

A second reason for the creation of these groups lies in the discontinuity which exists in an industrial culture. Children are expected to be children, they are presented with really few models for adult economic behavior, they have virtually no productive role to play in the economy. Parents expect them to become emancipated, to belong to organizations outside the home, to grow up (which means to grow away). At the same time, the children are provided with no participation or status in the adult world. They turn to the society of their peers to gain this sense of productivity and achievement.

The child is also still establishing his own personal identity. He needs experiences with equals, he needs "try-out" time with new roles, he needs the warmth, support, and acceptance of a nonfamily group as he strives for self-expression and self-understanding.

The need for identity leads to the strange paradox that the child, in seeking independence from the adult world, becomes dependent upon his peers. The peer society becomes the security base from which the child's private war for independence can be fought. Even though the group may demand, in early adolescence particularly, the utmost conformity to its standards, the child is willing to pay this price for what he gains—a sense of being "on his own."

The push of the adult world toward "joining" certainly exists in the American culture. In other cultures as well, peer groups are affected in their development by the adult pressures for group living and group activity. In the Israeli *kibbutz* (cooperative farm), where children are reared in a "children's house" although they also have a family, peer group life begins earlier than in the general Israeli culture, and "early becomes the most important praising figure" (Rapaport, 1957, p. 593).

In France, where the family is the arbiter of social behavior and the school does not stress group living, peer groups such as we know them do not exist. The preschool child is tied to the extended family. The peer life in school is *sub rosa*, unknown to both teacher and parent. Its main function seems to be to provide "a clearing house for individual interests. . . . The French peer group is, much more than the American peer group, a source of relaxation and defense of the member's identity" (Pitts, 1960, p. 277).

In a rapidly changing world, the experiences of the child are greatly different from the experiences his parents had as children. Communication between the generations becomes more difficult, because communication depends upon common perceptual experience. The child needs to share his experiences, to reflect upon them, to relive them. He can do this today only with his peers. The lament of the adolescent, although ancient, was never more true or tragic than today; his parents really "don't understand."

Another factor in the formation of peer groups is the development of the child. He has reached the point in neuromuscular development where highly active group games requiring skill are not only possible

but are highly satisfying experiences. He has reached the time in his development of self where he has some comprehension of "other." He could not engage in group play before he realized the interaction between his own behavior and that of others, before he had some concept of "rules," before he could visualize how others might behave. By the time he enters the second or third grade, he has reached this point in his self-development. He will continue, through his peer group activity, to grow in these concepts; thus, membership not only requires the rudimentary development of concepts of other, but also provides the opportunity for their further development.

Characteristics of a Peer Group

A peer group is characterized by being an intimate, selective group in which admission is by mutual choice, and status within the group is a function of the group's values and the individual's roles. Variables influencing the organization of the group and the acceptance of individuals change somewhat with age, sex, and social class background.

Organization

Factors affecting individual acceptance tell us about the particular value systems these groups hold. Although all children of a given age are members of the peer society, they do not all belong to groups or to the group of their choice. What does a child need to gain belonging in the group of his choice? What contributes to status?

Intelligence is not a requirement in the way we might expect. Studies in grades two through seven show "that there is little direct relationship between intelligence and the degree of acceptance by peers" (Gronlund, 1959, p. 180). This is especially true if we eliminate the mentally retarded child. While gifted children tend to be accepted, giftedness is no guarantee of any peer status. In the organization of any particular group, children of somewhat the same intelligence tend to select each other. School achievement is no more a factor than intelligence. Since the peer group forms, to some degree, to create its own achievement symbols, we would expect little relationship with school success. We should note, however, that these studies are of peer acceptance in school situations and reflect school

mores to some degree. Since there are several groups within a class, children of differing ability levels may belong to different groups and each gain acceptance and satisfaction from belonging.

Family background influences peer status, although again not always in a "common sense" way. Research seems to indicate that the popularity of children from broken homes is not adversely affected by this, that ordinal position means little, and that "only children" do not lose out in the struggle for status. As an echo of Chapter 3, the family climate, rather than any objective, external variable, seems to be the contributing factor to status and membership. Feinberg found that parental interest and participation in athletic and social activities was related to high peer status (Feinberg, 1953). The dominance-submission pattern in the home also influences peer acceptance through the self-development of the child. If at home he is overdominated or underdominated, overevaluated or underevaluated, he develops self-concepts that are reflected in either aggressive or withdrawn behavior, or other behavior (such as crying, whining, and demanding) that create trouble for him with his peers. We would expect to find the family influence exerted more in this indirect fashion through the child rather than in any direct one-to-one relationship between any single family variable and peer status.

We do find that the *social class* position of the family plays a role in the peer culture. It influences strongly the circle of friends with whom the child will associate. Although age, school values, and the nature of the larger community are mitigating factors, children of the same social class generally choose each other on sociometric tests, and children from the middle class are perceived as possessing more favorable personality traits than lower-class children. Since the peer culture mirrors the adult culture, we would expect that the degree of importance children attach to social class position, race, or ethnic background varies with the degree of importance their parents attach to these variables.

Appearance has prestige value, particularly for girls, and more in the secondary school than in the elementary school. In Tryon's study of adolescents, "good looking" was important for prestige in both 12- and 15-year-old girls, unrelated for 12-year-old boys, but very important for 15-year-old boys (Tryon, 1943, p. 565). A study of preadolescents found that the factor of height was not related to

social status (Heber, 1956). Youth seems to mean by appearance the whole person and not a single factor.

Skill, one of the reasons for the formation of these groups, plays a major role in determining acceptance. Of course, the criteria for which skills are acceptable are functions of the age, sex, and social background of the group, but the child who fails the skill test will not be admitted. Again we have the circle: it takes skill to belong, and belonging provides the experience for the further development of skill. Athletic prowess for boys is the *sine qua non* at all age levels for favorable rating by peers. Social skills, including dancing and the art of conversation, are important for adolescent girls, whereas pre-adolescent girls resemble the boys in their interest in athletic ability. Bonney and Powell found that to first-graders, being cooperative and following teacher's direction are the skills which bring acceptance (Bonney and Powell, 1953, p. 492). We shall see the role of skill more clearly in subsequent chapters when we focus again upon the self of the child.

Age also seems to be a factor in acceptance in classroom peer groups. The overage child in the intermediate grades is not accepted by his classmates (Morrison and Perry, 1956), although the factor of age in the junior high grades does not seem significant. We should remember that no *single* factor is the *only* causative agent. The viewpoint of teachers, the self-concept and behavior of the overage child, parental attitudes, are all involved. In the secondary school, a time when the relationship between chronological age and physical maturity is low, age is not an important factor. Physical maturity is important, because of the change in heterosexual relations.

Even though we are discussing each of these variables somewhat in isolation from each other, they do not function this way. They are all mediated by the self-organization of the child and the particular organization of his peer and adult worlds. Intelligence, family and social class background, the development of skill, appearance, and the degree of achievement required to keep up with one's classmates are all functions of the particular, unique self of the child. This is why all correlations, although positive and valid, are never near the 1.00 mark. How the child feels about his intelligence, his family, and so forth, determines the amount of drive he has for peer group membership, the choice of group he will make, and the behavior he will perceive as appropriate in attempting to gain acceptance. His

peers will not evaluate him so much on separate external criteria as they will on his *total* behavior. If his values approximate theirs, if they see that his interests resemble theirs, if he can contribute to the development of the group, they will accept him. Even though some of his behavior patterns are different, his peers will perceive him to be like them. They will distort their image of him to make him resemble them more than he does.

What behavior do peers consider important? Friendliness, expressiveness, ability to show emotion, "outgoingness," cooperation, daring and enthusiasm, emotional stability, and dependability are given by various researchers as important traits.

Recent research on delinquency and delinquent gangs shows that these groups have expectations for personal values which tend to be similar to those of other peer groups. "Members of lower-class street-corner groups are often the most fit and the most able youngsters in their community, for this is a tough league in which to make the grade. One must possess both stamina and perseverance, as well as the capacity to interact and to subordinate self to the over-all needs of the group" (Kvaraceus, 1959, p. 16).

These traits can be understood as being the behavioral manifestations of children who value themselves, who feel adequate, and who have successfully differentiated self from other with the recognition of the humanity of the other. These behaviors reflect a high degree of self-organization, a lack of threat, and a view of the world as a place in which one can gain status. We may hypothesize that this is why other children are drawn to establish close relations with them. They can sense the strength of these children. It is not to be inferred that these children are perfect, particularly the gang members, or that their self-systems contain no conflict areas; they are sometimes boisterous, aggressive, or assertive, but they have within themselves a high degree of self-valuing that enables them to face the world with confidence and to give to others of themselves.

SEX CLEAVAGE. Peer group organization is generally characterized by sex cleavage. Beginning in preadolescence, the groups are split on sex lines. Sociometric studies show that boys and girls rarely pick each other for activities (see Table 9.1). Observations of classroom behavior reveal that children, when given the choice, segregate themselves on sex lines. When children's responses are elicited by means

of the incomplete-sentences approach, in which they finish a stem such as "most boys _____," they are always more favorable to their own sex (Harris and Tseng, 1957). Teachers' attempts in the fourth grade, for example, to have children dance with each other are met with horseplay and subversion by the boys, along with the mild compliance which must be shown in school. An unpublished study by Gordon and Spears of over 150 children's self-reports from third through twelfth grade in one school shows that wanting to be liked by the opposite sex is rated lower than wanting to be liked by the same sex in preadolescence. Adolescent boys say they want girls to like them more than boys, and the girls favor both sexes equally. The high point of same-sex choice is in the fifth and sixth grades, and declines somewhat after that.

If we see the peer group as a place where children can safely work on appropriate sex-role behavior, in which they can "talk over" ex-

TABLE 9.1

Percentage of Choices Between Boys and Girls at Various Grade Levels, Using Five Sociometric Choices with One Sociometric Criterion

Grade Level	Number of Classrooms	Number of Pupils		Percentage of Choices	
		Boys	Girls	Boys Chose Girls	Girls Chose Boys
3	9	129	141	13	12
4	10	144	133	11	15
5	10	142	126	18	16
6	10	138	146	15	10
7	6	96	75	13	15
8	6	78	68	11	15
9	8	88	85	17	17
10	6	66	69	21	9
11	6	50	55	25	17
12	5	46	59	15	14
College	5	81	63	31	40

Note: Criteria: *Work Companion* (grades 3-6), *Seating Companion* (grades 7-12), and *Teaching Companion* (college).

SOURCE: Reprinted from *Sociometry in the Classroom*, Norman Gronlund, 1959, Harper. Used by permission.

periences safely with their peers, then we can understand this cleavage. When we study adolescence in more detail, we can see how youth belongs to several groups, some heterosexual and some continuing to reflect the preadolescent cleavage.

MEMBERSHIP ROLES. Any organization must have certain members perform certain duties if it wishes to survive. Formal organizations have presidents, secretaries, and the like; informal organizations such as peer groups have similar roles. A role is an organized pattern of behavior in an interpersonal setting.¹ When one plays a role it enables others, to some degree, to predict behavior, and to pattern their own behavior. As we observe children in groups we can see these behavior patterns in operation. They are essential for group process. In a ball game, a position on the team may be considered a role: pitcher, outfielder, shortstop, center, end, and halfback; cheerleader, coach, and umpire.

The more pervasive roles in terms of self-structure are played through time and in a variety of situations. In any group, there is always an operator, an idea man, an argument settler, a diplomat, an arranger, a spark plug who actually gets the group moving, a daredevil, and so on. There are always those who supply information or materials, who set the style, who act out in behavior the way others feel but don't quite dare to do. The group is organized so that different roles are accorded varying degrees of status. In the delinquent gang of boys, the fearless defier of adult authority may have high status; in the middle-class suburban group, the style setter, the fashion leader may be the high status role in the adolescent girl group. Individual behavior in a peer group setting is functional for both.

Certain roles need to be performed for group survival (Benne, 1948), membership in the group provides experiences for learning these roles, role performance brings status, and status provides new opportunities for individual and group enhancement. The individual learns in the group setting, but his behavior also molds the group culture.

An external observer can comprehend much about the self-structure of the group members by analyzing the roles being played

¹ For an interesting discussion of role in relation to behavior setting, see R. Barker and H. Wright, *Midwest and Its Children*, pp. 50 ff.

and by evaluating the status attached to each role. He will see that some youngsters are able to perform a wide range of roles, while others have a limited repertoire. Status position in the group shifts as one adapts himself to the group demands, as he conforms to group pressures. Roles which may have had high status lose value as the group matures; new roles become important.

The youngster with a clear perception of self and others is able to meet these new group demands, or to decide that they are not worth meeting. In the latter case, he leaves the group and seeks one whose values are similar to his. The youngster with a limited perceptual field, whether because of a paucity of experience or because of threat of loss of membership, becomes more rigid in his role-playing and may settle for less status as long as he can continue to belong. We find, for instance, college students playing the "low comic" role, highly valued in the fourth grade but now relegated to low status, because they still need to belong but are unable to adapt.

It should not be construed that adaptability of an "other-directed" nature, in which the youngster loses his uniqueness and conforms for the sake of belonging, is desirable. Highly acceptable youngsters, with an ideal self, are children with strength, values, and self-regard. It is the insecure youngster, with feelings of inadequacy, who is willing to sacrifice himself to gain identity. To be sure, all group members gain some sense of identity through affiliation, but not in the same way or to the same degree as the youngster to whom the group is the center of his existence.

In summary, the roles played in the group are an outgrowth of individual and group needs. They reflect the unique organization of roles which members perceive themselves as capable of fulfilling and the group as a whole perceives as desirable for group existence.

Codes and Customs

The culture of the peer group is carried on and conveyed through its language, rituals, activities, and tools. Just as the archeologist can learn about ancient civilization from examination of its objects of art, its writings, its utensils for both production and leisure, and just as the cultural anthropologist can do the same in his study of so-called primitive cultures, so the sociologist and social psychologist can study the culture of the peer group by examining its means for accomplishing its cultural objectives.

The language of the peer society changes to some degree with each generation. Because a primary purpose for formation of peer groups is establishment of an identity apart from the adult world, youngsters need to create a language their parents can't quite understand. A second purpose of peer language is to create a bond, a "we-feeling" through being able to communicate thoughts and feelings to each other in a special way. We've had "slang," "jive talk," "bop talk," "rock 'n roll talk," talk that's "way out there, man," and talk that's "real cool." We've had the stylized language that each generation learns from the one preceding it as it begins its life as a group, such as pig Latin in its various forms. The language of any society enables its members to think in certain ways; there is a relationship between language structure and thought. It also allows for certain feelings to be expressed that are shared by members. What can be more eloquent to describe the ultimate in ecstasy to the teen-ager than to be "gone, man, gone clear out of this world"? Mystics, theologians, and some psychologists talk of "cosmic experience." Does this convey the same intensity as the peer jargon? Peer language has a richness, a flavor all its own; and its power is indicated by the many attempts of adults to copy it and comprehend it.

Even researchers may use peer language in their efforts to understand the culture. For example, in Texas:

. . . for convenience, the following terms are being used by research workers to designate the reference groups which mark the several categories of peer acceptance:

1. Wheels—"the active ones," "the top crowd."
2. Brains—"students," "good kids, but they don't know the score."
3. Outsiders—"skaters," "not in the crowd," but "they get around."
4. Mice—"quiet ones," "inoffensive," and "seldom heard."
5. Outcasts—"you don't want to be with them." [McGuire, 1953, p. 20].

Activities

"Standing on the Corner, Watching All the Girls Go By," a song title *circa* 1955, describes one of the rituals of adolescent boy groups, particularly of the upper-lower and lower-middle classes. Rituals might be said to be the stylized repetitive group activities which serve to cement relationships among members, increase the feelings of identity and belonging, and provide experience in new ways of

behaving distinct from adult-supervised patterns. Groups develop stylized greetings and leave-takings, usually not too different from the fraternity handclasp or the drinker's toast. The group meeting place, whether it be street corner, pool hall, ice-cream parlor, or somebody's back porch, is a part of the ritual of group life. Street-corner gangs have their "pad" or home ground, their bit of territory on which outsiders can set foot only through permission or warfare; more socially acceptable groups have similar "home bases." The word goes out along the peer grapevine, and the clan gathers at its meeting place to transact its affairs. Huge clusters of many groups may meet, almost in convention.

In the fall of 1958, the author observed thousands of teen-agers, standing in the street, sitting in cars, and lounging against building walls, for blocks on end along Flatbush Avenue in Brooklyn, N.Y. The taxi driver, an old hand, told him these youngsters came from all over Brooklyn each Friday night to talk, to meet new friends, to arrange dates, and just to be together. While traffic moved slowly through what would be the main street in many cities, these youngsters held what might be called a tribal meeting. They were not disorderly or rowdy; they interacted in small groups, but the sound could be heard for blocks around. To an adult, it might appear that they were not doing anything—"just hanging around"; to the youths, this was an important and significant ritual.

Another type of ritual is the initiation ceremony. Crane identified five types in preadolescent gangs in Australia, all of which can be seen in the United States as well. They are:

1. Phallic—genital rather than sexual
2. Ordeal—endurance of pain, fear, indignity
3. Demonstration of skill
4. Signing a document and taking an oath
5. Social aggression [Crane, 1952, p. 115].

Why such ceremonies? They serve to impress the newcomer with the power of the group, to demonstrate group values, and to increase feelings of identity. They teach the new member the group's rules, history, and symbol system.

Group rituals shade off into *activities* which are often repetitive but are not stylized or loaded with the emotional overtones of rituals.

Crane's study, using the reminiscences of students at teachers' col-

leges in Australia, divided activities of boy gangs (age 9 to 13) and girl gangs (age 11 to 13) into the following categories:

a. *Predatory activities.* Amongst boys, forty-four per cent of all gang occupations were of this type, e.g., arranging fights, raiding orchards or melon-patches, throwing stones, birds' nesting and bush-roaming, pulling down fences, lighting bush fires. The girls' predatory activities were mainly confined to teasing others not in the gang, and trying to upset other gangs.

b. *Social activities.* These may be divided into the socially disapproved and the socially approved.

(1) *Disapproved.* Here boys' gangs exclusively were represented in such a behavior as smoking, telling sex yarns ("smut sessions") and swearing.

(2) *Approved.* Only one boys' gang could be included here, but seven of the girls' gangs spent their time in such ways as practicing hobbies, discussing poems or books, writing secret reports, and talking about rival gangs.

c. *Sport.* About the same proportion of both boys' and girls' gangs went hiking, fishing, rabbiting or playing competitive games. Swimming, always in the nude, was a very common activity of boys' gangs, but was not mentioned by the girls.

d. *Social service.* This category is represented by four girls' gangs only. It included helping each other with school homework, spreading information about Health and Temperance, and helping disabled or disliked people [Crane, 1952, p. 117].

As we would expect, activities vary with age, sex, and other cultural influences. For instance, lower-class children do not belong to cub scouts, brownies, or scouts as do their middle-class age-mates (Sullenger, Parke, and Wallin, 1953; Stendler, 1949, pp. 39-40).

Many activities center around combinations of competitive-cooperative endeavors. Team sports contain both elements. In some groups, joy-riding and drag-racing are predominant activities. Motoring—whether running, chasing, bike-riding, ball-playing or automotive—seems to be a basic activity of many peer groups.

The adult culture seems to have imposed its organizational pattern increasingly upon boys' activities in recent years. Before World War II the peer group was away from adult supervision in athletics and other activities. The current emergence of Babe Ruth Leagues, Little Leagues, Boys' Clubs, and other organized recreation programs is now widespread. Of course, we do not know what percentage of youths are involved or whether lower-class youngsters are being

turned into organization men. Many of these recreation programs were initiated to curb delinquency, but they serve to put the stamp of adult cultural values more firmly upon the child, to cut down the really free time he needs to explore on his own with his peers. His father could write such a book as *Where Did You Go? Out. What Did You Do? Nothing*, but his activities are more controlled. Middle-class youngsters, especially in suburbia, are deluged with planned and supervised athletics, dance lessons, music lessons, social graces lessons. Parents force heterosexual activities at a time when children really want experiences with their own sex. Sixth-graders in middle-class schools have formal proms and the like, partly because their parents think it is "cute." One wonders where the trend will lead.

Cultural artifacts can lead to additional understanding of the peer society. In archeology, an artifact is anything manufactured and used by a society. Peer groups do not manufacture (except zip guns perhaps, in certain antisocial gangs), but they use the manufactured objects of the adult society as means and symbols, and they put the peer stamp upon them.

Perhaps clothing is the best example of a cultural artifact, because it begins to be used for peer purposes in the primary grades. Each peer society develops its own uniform: it may be jeans (tight-fitting and low-waisted), tee-shirts, nondescript shoes, or black leather jackets studded with brass or, at the other extreme, cashmere sweaters in an upper-middle-class girl group. Youngsters begin to dress for each other, to accentuate in their styles the current fad or fashion. In many ways, clothing manufacturers *follow* the peer lead, rather than creating the style.

Other artifacts are records, particularly in teen-age groups, and, for older groups, the ultimate in tools: the automobile. In later chapters on adolescence we will discuss these last two in more detail. The point to be made here is that the peer society, like all societies, creates or borrows artifacts. These reveal the values, aspirations, and perceptions of the society in ways which are appropriate to it. In analyzing any peer group, the external observer can gain insights by seeing how these artifacts are used.

Values

Value systems can be inferred if we examine the factors that affect individual acceptance, the total organizational pattern, the codes and

customs. Analysis of patterns of certain lower-class delinquent groups showed:

For many youngsters the bases of prestige are to be found in toughness, physical prowess, skill, fearlessness, bravery, ability to con people, gaining money by wits, shrewdness, adroitness, smart repartee, seeking and finding thrills, risk, danger, freedom from external constraint, and freedom from superordinate authority.

These are the explicit values of the most important and essential reference group of many delinquent youngsters. These are the things they respect and strive to attain. The lower-class youngster who engages in a long and recurrent series of delinquent behaviors that are sanctioned by his peer group is trying to achieve prestige within this reference system [Kvaraceus, 1959, p. 16].

Intermediate and junior high school youngsters in Denver ranked as their high goals interpersonal relationships and experiences, and developing those personal attitudes which contribute to group acceptance (Cunningham, 1951, p. 71). Belonging, itself, was the chief value.

Other values which can be inferred from observation of the group are *adequacy*, as exemplified in athletics and social skills; *conformity*, as exemplified in dress, common activities, language, and rituals. Indeed, conformity has been seen by some as the major problem of the peer culture. Riesman states: "The effort is to cut everyone down to size who stands up or out in any direction. . . . The peer group becomes the measure of all things; the individual has no defenses the group cannot batter down" (Riesman, 1950, pp. 71-83). The reason for this might be related to the reasons for the formation of the group, and to its functions. It is the place in which status can be won, in which adults can be resisted. In order to be able to accomplish these functions, it needs strength, and strength comes through order and the achievement of distinct peer patterns. Conformity, to some degree, is the result. *The recognition of the rights of others* is also a value learned in the group. Of course, "others" may be defined narrowly to include only group members, and this is often the case. *New experiences, identification with "heroes," and becoming adult* are other peer values.

All peer values are echoes of adult values. They may be conveyed in ways the adult world finds uncomfortable or inappropriate, but the value system of the peer world resembles the adult value system.

The delinquent gang values toughness and bravery—we have "loyalty oaths" for many government employees; the peer group values good looks and social skills—the TV ads are full of such appeals to adults; the peer group values identification with status figures—the adult keeps up with the Joneses. The difference lies not in the value, but in the activities used to achieve these values.

Developmental Changes

The peer age begins in late childhood and lasts through adolescence. Since so many profound physiological and other developmental changes occur during these years, the peer culture changes too. Behavior which gained approval in first grade loses approval in the seventh grade. Attitudes toward the opposite sex change from preadolescence to adolescence.

An example of the first-grader's asexual approach is contained in this newspaper clipping from the *Montgomery (Alabama) Advertiser* of October 26, 1958:

Some are born pretty, some achieve prettiness, and some have prettiness thrust upon them.

Students of Mrs. Hugh Stout's first grade class at Williams Township school near here were hurt this week when they found their nominee for Halloween Queen was ineligible.

Their unanimous choice, 7-year-old Bill Ward, is a boy, "We still want Bill," stubbornly said campaigner Debbie Jacobs, 6. "He's the prettiest."

After much coaxing, the vote was changed and Debbie was made the nominee.

Skill development influences the activities of the group. Observations by teachers in several Southern states disclosed that dramatic play and ritual games decreased from the primary grades through eighth grade, and team sports showed a progressive increase from second through eighth grade (Renfroe, 1952, pp. 268-271).

Changes in organization are in the direction of increasing complexity, size, freedom from adults, and stability of structure. Girls' groups experience these changes earlier. As an example of increasing complexity, sociometric studies were analyzed on the variable of mutual choices. In grades three through six, less than 31 percent of the pupils had 3 or more mutual choices. In the secondary school, this percentage remained above 40 percent (Gronlund, 1959, p. 108).

Play activities also show the same trend toward complexity of organization. They "involve increasingly greater division of labor, differentiation of roles and status, teamwork, loyalty to a larger group, and breadth of leadership" (Ausubel, 1958, p. 468).

The principle of organizations moving toward greater complexity and, at the same time, higher levels of integration, is thus seen to apply not only to the individual child but also to his groups. The group operates as a functioning whole, although each member—like each cell in the body—is individual. Although membership may change, the group as a whole survives, and the members become mutually dependent. In effect, the group develops a "self." We can find in group life the processes we found in the development of self in Chapters 5 and 6.

With this knowledge, our behavior toward gangs has changed. We used to believe that delinquent gangs should be "broken up"; we now operate to change the behavior of the group as a whole within the value system that the gang and the adult controlling society share. We recognize that the group has vital reasons for its existence and serves many valuable functions in the self-development of children. Groups cannot be destroyed; they must be lived with, understood, and aided to achieve socially acceptable goals.

Functions of the Peer Group

We have, in the above discussion, actually stated many of the functions of peer groups. Here they are restated with a few additions. *First*, the reasons for the *creation* of such groups describe their functions—they provide for individual acceptance and belonging. They provide experiences with equals and give numerous opportunities to experiment with both objects and people. They provide a situation in which achievement needs can be met. They offer a "safe haven" from the pressures of the adult world, a home base from which the child can try to gain his independence from adults. They provide experiences for learning the skills and roles that will be needed in the adult society. They teach the child the appropriate sex-role behavior so that no high school class would ever make the "error" of electing a male queen!

Second, peer groups have become agents of the culture, and teach the culture to the child. They reflect the adult cultural values, al-

though in their own fashion. They are information centers for behavior, values, and skills.

What are the primary teaching procedures used by the group? We saw that rituals and activities are teaching methods in the school. They are also means used by the group.

The group uses the needs of its members to motivate them—a highly successful educational practice. If these motives are not sufficiently strong, then external pressures are applied to keep a member "in line." Peer groups do not operate on an acceptance of causality basis. They render punishment in keeping with the seriousness of the crime as they perceive it. Punishment may be simply ridicule, or it may be physical, or it may be the "silent treatment" or expulsion. Punishments are often crude and sometimes cruel, but these groups are at the point in their development where group survival is perceived as all-important. If we again compare them to adult societies and view the latter's punishment for treason, we find the differences small indeed.

Rewards are used to reinforce acceptable group behavior. Since the individual joins the group to receive status, recognition, and belonging, the rewards offered are group symbols of these. It is no wonder that the group is often more effective than the school; it uses sound learning laws, such as a recognition that rewards must be perceived as valuable by the learner. The peer group always operates in terms of the self and personal meanings of its members; it provides the experiences its members seek, it teaches the facts (although often with misinformation) its members wish to know, it provides visible rewards by meeting the needs its members have. Altogether, it is a highly efficient educational institution.

Relations with Adults

The peer group is in constant transaction with the adult world. Like all such transactions between groups, the relationship can be "peaceful coexistence," or "cold war"; open warfare, or cooperation (either dominant-submissive or egalitarian). The relationship between peers and parents falls essentially into all but the last category.

Since one of the causes of peer-group formation is the independence-from-parents motive of the members, peer-parent transactions are often struggles along the dominant-submissive axis. However, it

is not always the parents who are dominant. Although we have seen that the peer groups' values are reflections of the adult values, it is sometimes the peer society which takes the lead. Peers teach adults, set expectations for adult conduct, and lead the way. We pointed out earlier in the chapter that the society is in such a state of flux that communication between generations is more difficult. In such a situation, the peer group keeps parents "up-to-date." TV advertisers often exploit this situation by telling the child to ask mother to buy super-duper sugar crusted wheat cereal.

In many other situations, it is the adult who is dominant, attempting to impose his will upon the child. The child reacts, depending upon his perceptions of the situation, either as submissive or aggressive. If he feels his peer values are in jeopardy, he will usually reject the parental message. A study of Jewish adolescents showed that they are more influenced by peers than parents in following certain dietary laws (Rosen, 1955). Warner found that "an adolescent member of a boys' or girls' clique will sometimes defy his or her family to maintain the respect of clique-mates, should the interests of the two groups run counter to each other" (Warner and Lunt, 1941, p. 351).

Generally, relations are strained and each group attempts to learn about the other, to copy what it deems desirable, and to change the other to conform to its norms. Since the peer groups are subordinate in age, experience, and economic power, they adopt more guerrilla-like tactics. They have tremendous power on their side, however, in the form of the drives which created the group and the functions the group performs for its members. They also have on their side the uneasiness of the adult who is not quite sure how to behave toward them, and who often gives in to them because it is the easy way out. For example, on the collegiate level, administrations declare football holidays and lengthened vacations to appease the students. Homecoming becomes more important than homework, and teachers are evaluated by what their students say about them.

We are caught in the dilemma that knowing about the needs, functions, and organization of peer groups has sometimes been mistaken to mean that the adult society should just let the group be. The studies of modification of delinquent gang behavior show that these groups, with understanding and wisdom on the part of the

adult, can change their behavior. Understanding behavior does not and should not imply condoning behavior. The adult still needs to come to terms with the group, but these terms need not be unconditional surrender.

Summary

The peer group, created out of a combination of physical, social, and psychological pressures, becomes a powerful agent in the socialization of the child. The group develops its own culture, modeled upon the adult culture, and teaches this to its members. In the process of the development of the group, certain roles become differentiated which accord varying degrees of status, and certain codes and customs adopted which give the group an integrity all its own. When it becomes such a force in its own right it engages in transactions with the adult society. These transactions are part of the way in which the group helps its members meet their needs for independence, achievement, and status. Conflict between adult and peer society, even though the latter's values stem from the former, is probably inevitable. Each particular adult and peer group works out its own resolution of this struggle; both adults and children learn much from each other and act to modify each other's behavior.

The further development of self, beginning in the elementary school years, thus takes place in a transactional field in which the family, the school, the general culture, and the peer culture are each presenting expectations, attempting to show the child how he should behave and what he should become. These agencies are sometimes cooperating and sometimes competing with each other in this situational field which surrounds the child. In the next chapters we shall see how the individual internalizes these external forces; how, in conjunction with the developmental processes within him and his already developed self, he continues to use these transactions to further develop his self.

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• Starred items are suggested additional readings.

The Years of Middle-Childhood

Changes in Bodily Factors

Changes in Size and Rate of Growth

Throughout the years of middle-childhood, the slow and steady growth that characterizes early childhood continues, and there is also an increasing range of individual differences. For boys, the spread between the tenth and ninetieth percentiles changes from 15.5 pounds at age 6 to 24.75 pounds at age 9. Gains are steady each half year (see Table 10.1).

At age 8, the girls catch up and go ahead of the boys in rate of gain in weight, while gains in height continue to be similar through this period of development. (See Figs. 10.1 and 10.2.)

Increases in Coordination

Of great significance to the child during this period is his increasing ability to coordinate, which relates to his success both in school and his peer culture. Ability to read and write, to ride a bike, or to throw a ball with accuracy all occur during this age period.

The principle of the interrelatedness of structure and function, of heredity and environment, which was stated in Chapter 1, can be clearly seen in the middle-childhood years. Ball-throwing, in terms of cultural expectation, is a masculine activity. Thus, boys achieve a mature throwing pattern at 6½, while girls lag considerably in this activity (Rarick, 1954). The boy who "throws like a girl" is a peer-group failure and object of much sarcasm. Boys seem to be favored

TABLE 10.1

Height and Weight Gains, Ages 6½-9

Age	Boys		Girls	
	10 Percentile	90 Percentile	10 Percentile	90 Percentile
HEIGHT IN INCHES				
6½	45	50	44.75	49.5
7	46	51.5	46	50.75
7½	47.25	52.75	47	52
8	48.5	54	48	53
8½	49.5	55	49	54
9	50.5	56	50	55.25
WEIGHT IN POUNDS				
6½	43.5	60.5	42.25	57.75
7	45.75	64.5	44.5	61.25
7½	48.5	68.75	46.5	65.5
8	51.25	73	48.5	70
8½	53.75	77	50.5	74.5
9	56.25	81	52.5	79

SOURCE: Combined from Tables 9A-D in *Growth and Development of Children*, E. H. Watson and G. H. Lowrey, Year Book Publishers, 1955. Used by permission.

in the motor learning of tasks involving accuracy. Since we know that girls mature more rapidly than boys, we can only attribute these differences in athletic tasks to cultural influences.

The changes in coordination during this time continue to follow the principle of movement toward increasing complexity. There are increases in speed and increases in the use of coordination ability for social purposes. The child likes to demonstrate his proficiency, to elaborate on basic skill, and to combine skills in new ways. It seems as though he never does anything the "easy way" if he can use a more complicated procedure. If we watch a group of boys playing catch, or some girls jumping rope, we can observe this elaboration which goes far beyond the simple throwing of a ball or turning of a rope. "Look, no hands!" is the exultant cry of the bike-rider racing down the street.

Large-muscle activities such as running, chasing, climbing, and bike-riding, predominate throughout the years of middle-childhood.

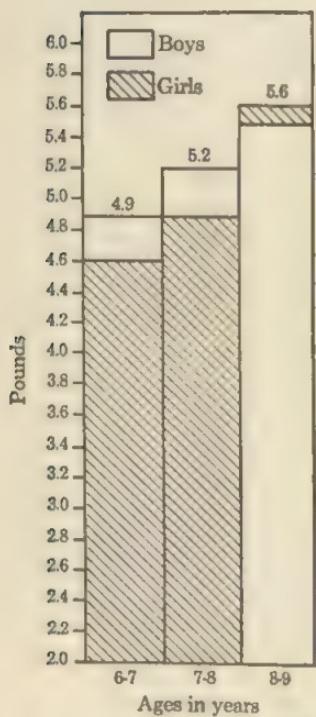


Fig. 10.1. Expected increments in weight, 6 to 9 years. (Created from data in *Growth and Development of Children*, E. H. Watson and G. H. Lowrey, 1958, Year Book Publishers, p. 70. Used by permission.)

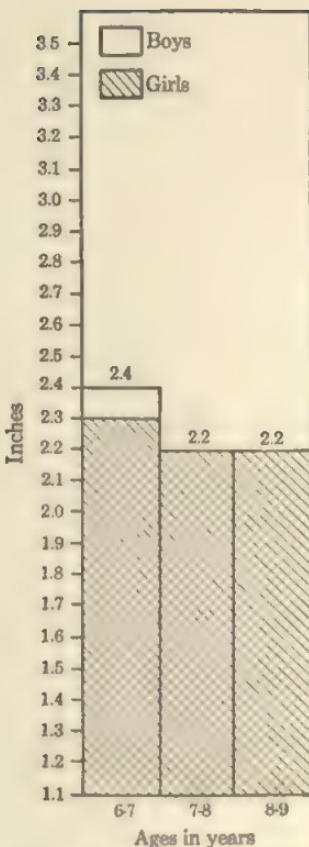


Fig. 10.2. Expected increments in height, 6 to 9 years. (Created from data in *Growth and Development of Children*, E. H. Watson and G. H. Lowrey, 1958, Year Book Publishers, p. 70. Used by permission.)

Teams and group activities requiring high degrees of coordination appear toward the end of this period.

Many children in the first grade are not ready to make the fine coordination required in reading and writing. Reading is a complex skill requiring the ability to create patterns, to make small discriminations (between b and d for example), to integrate, and to categorize. It requires perceptual and conceptual readiness, which are

functions of both maturation and experience. Research indicates that a mental age of 6½ is required to read (DeHirsch, 1957).

Success in reading and other school work depends upon, among other factors, perceptual-motor development, particularly the development of organization and control—ability to create order out of the chaos of stimuli. "In the early grades of elementary school much emphasis is placed on drawing, painting, crayoning, shopwork, writing and forming numbers. The child whose motor development is such that he can compete on equal terms with his classmates will be more successful and happier in school than will the child whose motor development lags behind and who, as a result, is slow, awkward and unsure of himself" (Hurlock, 1956, p. 139). Children enter middle-childhood with a wide range of individual differences in their abilities to organize and integrate, growing out of both genetic and experiential factors. Thus, requiring all children to learn to read and write at the same time may impose unreal standards on both those who are ready earlier and those who are not yet ready.

In general, the ages from 6 through 9 are years of high activity, slow but steady height-weight growth, and rapid elaboration of co-ordination skills. The range of individuality increases and the cultural impact of sex-role expectation produces differential interests, activities, and skill performance in boys and girls. The interplay of structure-function and heredity-environment shows up not only in peer activities but also in readiness for basic school tasks.

Significance of These Changes

What do these changes mean to the child? We know that both the school and peer cultures emphasize adequacy; we stated above that perceptual-motor coordination is one key to adequacy in both school and peer tasks. Children who are not ready for first grade, and experience failure in their efforts to read, can develop self-concepts about their ability to read which are detrimental to further growth. All the statistics on remedial reading clearly indicate the heavy preponderance of boys over girls. Often this reflects the physiological maturation advantage of the girls and the inability of the boys to meet the artificial cultural standard.

For the well-coordinated child, for one who meets or exceeds the peer and school expectation, there are many opportunities to develop and extend positive self-concepts. The self is continuously in-

fluenced by evaluations of others as well as self-evaluation. As Havighurst (1953) points out, to an increasing degree the way the child sees himself is related to his skill. Self-acceptance, it seems, is connected to mastery of his world. With skill, the child contributes to his group and his group's reaction adds to his self-concept. When the child perceives himself held in high esteem by teachers and peers, he tends to hold himself in high esteem. There is a positive correlation in the third grade, for example, between proficiency on motor tests and such behavior as calmness, cooperation, attentiveness, and resourcefulness (Rarick and McKee, 1949). These attributes may be seen as indicative of high self-esteem.

This wide range in readiness for school might indicate the need for some type of screening of those who are not ready. This would seem preferable to repeating the first grade. Although some people may view this as "coddling" or "sugar-coating," postponement of experience which is doomed to failure, and which may affect the child's whole approach to self and school, makes good psychological sense. Another approach might be the ungraded primary situation, which allows for a wide range of individual differences. Attention also should be paid to children who are ready sooner, but are kept by law from going to school. Regardless of the solution, the student of human development needs to concern himself with the personal question: What is the meaning of the event to the child?

Another significant aspect of physical factors during this period is that the children are becoming aware of their own bodies. The replacement of baby teeth, the increased meaning of being weighed and measured, the increased capacity to make evaluative comparisons, not only of performance but also of appearance, leads each child into developing a body image. He sees this body image as "him," and this image remains fairly stable up to adolescence. This perception may be inaccurate from the external observer's orientation, yet it is very real to the child. It affects his choice of experiences and, thus, affects his further development.

Increasing motor control provides the child with additional avenues for the expression of self. Drawing, rhythmical activities, and wood and clay work become important to him. The manipulation of tools and the concern for accuracy and reality of detail are parts of his utilization of his body to relate himself to his world. In the last section of this chapter we shall develop this point further.

The Broadening of Horizons

Concepts of the Interpersonal Field

FAMILY. A second-grader in a Maryland school wrote: "Why I like Mother. I like Mother because she takes good care of me. I do not want to disobey her. I do some work for her." First- and second-graders, when called on to "share" experiences in school, talk about their parents and often reveal "family secrets." Children of this age tend to conceive of their parents as admirable people and hold an ideal image of them. Parents are seen as good, powerful, and wise people. Children this age tend to perceive their relationships with parents as satisfactory. When asked to indicate "the person I would like to be like," children up to the age of 8 tended to choose parents (Havighurst *et al.*, 1946). They still seek parental approval and, like the second-grader who commented above, they see the parent as the giver of material satisfaction and the power figure. After age 8, the peers begin to possess some of these same qualities.

Children differentiate their views of father and mother. Fathers are consistently conceived of as being less friendly and more dominating than mothers, and there is a change in view of the parent of the same sex as the child grows from 6 to 10. The parent of the same sex presents a more threatening image as the child grows (Kagan, 1956). We may infer that this is related to both the child's increasing efforts toward independence and acceptance by peers. It also may be closely related to concern over appropriate sex-role identification. The child is still clarifying his self-image and, as he perceives his parent more realistically than he did at 5 or 6, this may also create anxiety about his own ability to identify with his parent.

How do children conceive of siblings? How does the presence of siblings influence their attitudes toward parents? Koch reports the following comments of second-born boys with older brothers who were less than 2 years older: "'Bill (older brother) does most of the good work. I never do and that's why I'd like to be Bill, if I could.' 'I would like to be Curt, then I could beat him up.' 'I would like to be Tom because he can read and write.'" These children not only expressed strong feelings of identification with their older sibling, but when sibling quarrels arose, also conceived of mother as favoring the older sibling while father was on their side. Boys with slightly

younger sisters also conceived of mother as favoring the sibling. The older girl, on the other hand, saw mother and female teacher favorably, as someone with whom they identified closely (Koch, 1955, pp. 30-34).

Although the influence of peer group has begun to be felt by the third-grade, children are still essentially family-oriented. In a study of third-graders' perceptions of interpersonal relationships, about two-thirds of the children ranked a parent first, sibling second, and then a friend (Mensh and Glidewell, 1958).

We can conclude that children in middle-childhood, although now exposed to many extrafamilial experiences, still see their families as the central group, the source of their identification and security. Their conceptions of parents change during this period and are influenced by the ordinal position and sex of the child.

SCHOOL. As we would expect, children have many reactions to school. Virtually any parent can tell stories about his children's first day at school or of humorous events reported by the child. The child's perception of the school program, what he sees as good or bad in it, are fed back into the family circle during the primary years.

Organized research on children's concepts of school are scant. We have many studies on improving academic subjects and skills, but little on how children perceive. The difficulty of validating the reports of children is a part of the reason. How do we know that what the child says really reflects how he feels? Maybe he is merely reporting what he assumes we wish to hear. Attempts to infer the perceptions of children from their behavior, although perhaps a sound approach, is also fraught with difficulty. How can the researcher be sure he is not just projecting his own adult motivational patterns upon the child? Open-ended questions or interviews or play-therapy sessions used to assess children's perceptions are also subject to error. It is no wonder that most research on school children deals with the more tangible, measurable, external factors of physical growth, social behavior, and academic achievement. Our belief is that behavior reflects the self of the child and that analysis of this behavior (including self-reports) can yield valid inferences about how the child feels about school. For example, behavior protocol in a first-grade classroom illustrates a facet of children's concepts of ability.

Carolyn asked Artie, "You thinkin' of that picture you're doin'?"

Artie replied, "No. I was thinking of something else. I know what 3 and 3 is."

Carolyn—"What?"

He answered, "6."

Susie said, "That's right."

Carolyn asked her, "How do you know?"

Susie held up three fingers in front of Carolyn. "See. Now I add three more and that's six." She had the five fingers of her left hand and her forefinger of the right hand held up between them.

"You're smart," Carolyn said.

Artie was smiling at both girls.

Susie said, "I ain't smart. Artie is. He did'n' hold up any fingers at all."

Artie continued to smile and said nothing.

Research of this type is needed to complement the existing data on the more measurable aspects of development.

Depending upon the type of home atmosphere, the shift from home to school may be mild or radical. The child in a home which has provided numerous opportunities for self-expression, for individuality, and for relaxed play with parents may find himself in a classroom in which the very number of pupils precludes this type of atmosphere or in which the teacher, under pressure to have all her children read by the end of the year, makes few allowances for individuality. One report of a child's feelings about this type of situation states: "It's awful; all you do is sit and sit" (Murphy, Murphy, and Newcomb, 1937, p. 652). Many schools have modified their programs since 1937, but there are still numerous places in which this report of first grade would be accurate.

Children may be expected to perform tasks at home that are not required in school and vice versa. Observation of behavior shows that children perceive school as different from home and teacher as different from mother (although some first-graders slip and call teacher "mommy") and behave differently in school than at home. Thus, the child may come home reporting proudly that he is on the "cleaning" committee, but his room at home is a shambles of jumbled toys, straightened out only occasionally under parental guidance and pressure.

Events which may seem routine to parents assume great importance to children. In one school with a cafeteria, the custom was to have the first-graders go through a dry-run before actually eating. A child came home and reported to his parents, "We had a real good day, today." When asked to explain, he completely ignored all as-

pects of the day except the trip to the cafeteria and the chance to carry his own tray! Similarly, children in a school which has a male physical education teacher (called "coach"), who spends some time in each grade, identify as "coach's day" the day on which he spends perhaps a half-hour with them.

Generally, primary school children express liking for school and seek the approval of teachers. However, in Jersild's survey of children's wishes, in which children were "asked very simply, much as a teacher or a parent might ask, what they wish and what they like best or dislike most. . . . The children's wishes, as recorded, included a small number pertaining to school" (Jersild and Tasch, 1949, pp. 7, 12). Less than 4 percent refer to school at all. Primary children expressed more positive than negative wishes, but the most striking finding was that "there were relatively few [wishes] which bore upon the child's contemporary school life" (Jersild and Tasch, 1949, pp. 7, 12).

Does this mean school actually makes little impact upon the self-concept of the child? Stendler's study, although the findings are based upon interviews with mothers rather than direct study of children, reveals that the phenomenon of beginning school has a profound impact on the child. First, we find out, in Table 10.2 what children expected to learn in school; second, we find mothers reporting on children's statements about how hard school is, how big they feel, etc.; and third, mothers report changes in behavior for the better (Stendler and Young, 1950, p. 255).

The child in the primary grades generally has a positive conception of school and values the view of himself as big enough to be in school. He sees, as do his parents and teachers, academic learning as the major task of the school.

PEERS. The evidence of how children perceive each other and their own status is very sparse. We know that the end of middle-childhood marks the transition period when the adult becomes replaced by the peer group as the primary "anchorage point." Other than sociometric studies, we have little evidence of how children feel about their peers, or about themselves in relation to their peers. As children mature during these years, their ability to empathize (that is, to put themselves in someone else's shoes) increases. They

become better able to interpret the behavior of their friends and express their own likes and dislikes. By the third grade, children are able to perceive their own and others' sociometric status. Third-graders also differentiate between boys and girls in reporting on being liked and wanting to be liked by the same and opposite sex. On a self-rating scale, boys rate wanting to be liked by boys first, being liked by boys second, being liked by girls third, and wanting to be liked by girls last. Girls, however, rate wanting the boys to like them second although their first choice is wanting the girls to like them; they rate being liked by girls third and being liked by boys a poor fourth (see Table 10.3) (Gordon and Spears, 1961, unpublished report).

TABLE 10.2
Percent of Children Anticipating First-Grade Learning

Learning	Percent of Children Anticipating (According to Mothers)
Reading	56
Writing	30
Creative activities	25
Social activities	16
Number	14
Discipline	5
Miscellaneous responses	25

SOURCE: Reprinted from "The Impact of Beginning First Grade Upon Socialization as Reported by Mothers," Celia Burns Stendler and Norman Young, *Child Development*, 1950, 21, 248. Used by permission of the Society for Research in Child Development, Inc., and of Celia Burns Stendler.

Symbolic Concepts

GENERAL CONCEPTUAL DEVELOPMENT. The child, at the beginning of this period of development, is still oriented to concrete objects and to self. He reasons autistically and his concepts are still rather vague and simple. During middle-childhood, several important changes occur, although they are not necessarily completed until later stages of development. Vinacke, after surveying the literature, lists six trends:

- a. Progression from simple to complex concepts. . . .
- b. Progression from diffuse to differentiated concepts. . . .
- c. Progression from egocentric to more objective concepts. . . .
- d. Progression from concrete to abstract concepts. . . . In this trend, the child tends to become increasingly free from the immediate perceived properties and functions of objects and to deal with them in the classificatory sense. . . .
- e. Progression from variable to more stable concepts. . . .
- f. Progression from inconsistent to more consistent and accurate concepts [Vinacke, 1954, pp. 533-534].

The primary school child is able to comprehend that many events are not self-related; he is able to differentiate that certain roles and behavior are appropriate to different groups in different settings. He comes to recognize that certain facts, such as the rules in a ball game, are fixed without reference to him. While he still strives to adjust the rules to fit the particular case, he is learning that a "rule is a rule is a rule." He learns that behavior has its consequences and that he cannot always influence these consequences.

TABLE 10.3

Third-Graders' Peer Ratings^a

	Boys			Girls		
	Same Sex	Opposite Sex	L/S	Same Sex	Opposite Sex	L/S
Want	4.57	3.40	.001	4.77	3.89	.01
Like	3.90	2.80	.01	3.72	2.50	.01
L/S	.01	.05		.01	.001	

^a On following four items from Gordon Self-Rating Scale (5 point): (1) I want the boys to like me. (2) I want the girls to like me. (3) The boys like me. (4) The girls like me.

SOURCE: "Gordon Self-Rating Scale," Ira Gordon and W. D. Spears, 1961, unpublished report.

Generally, then, he is becoming more aware that the outside world is differentiated from the self. Of course, he still generalizes from his own experience, but now his experience is so much broader because he can learn from abstract symbol systems (numbers, words) as well as from direct concrete experience. Indeed, by the end of middle-childhood, he is seeking more and more to learn from symbols and he is able to deal with many abstractions. He can com-

prehend the meaning of words through the use of other words; direct tactful or observational experience is not always necessary. If this were not the case, formal education would be impossible.

GROWTH IN VOCABULARY. The development of vocabulary and the development of concepts are closely related. Through words, the child can manipulate ideas. The child's vocabulary consists not only of the words he uses in speech or can recognize on a printed page, but also those words he comprehends. It is through this "understanding" vocabulary that he gains knowledge and mastery of his world.

The school years are characterized by tremendous growth in the use of words. Vocabulary development is influenced by motivation, opportunities to learn, social-class position, and sex. There are wide individual differences in vocabulary, and any estimate of the "average" size should allow for wide range. On the average, the child doubles his vocabulary from first grade (20,000-24,000 words) to sixth grade (50,000 words) (Hurlock, 1956, p. 188).

Traditionally, educators have tested knowledge of concepts by verbal means. The child who has an inadequate vocabulary will be seriously handicapped in school. Thus, youngsters whose cultural backgrounds have been limited may have difficulty in school not because they lack the basic ability to learn, but because school learning is so largely verbal and their vocabularies are too meager.

The meanings children assign to words, which reflects their real understanding of them and influences their ability to use them to arrive at concepts, may often be incorrect. They assign "common sense" meanings which grow out of their own experiences rather than the "technical" meanings which the teacher uses. For example, children in second grade learn the basic facts of subtraction. A number of terms are commonly used: minus, from, less, and take away.

Two anecdotes illustrate children's difficulties in getting correct answers because of the lack of understanding of the words, not lack of knowledge of subtraction. In one case, the child brought home an assignment, and his father watched without intruding for about 15 minutes or so. He saw his son diligently and busily at work, erasing as hard as he could. Finally, his curiosity got the better of him and he asked his son what he was doing. His son re-

plied, "It says here to take away 3, and that's what I'm trying to do!" In the other case, a child brought a paper home with all his columns correct, but with three errors in the three cases where the problem had been stated, "What is 4 from 7?" After looking the paper over, the mother asked, "Do you know what 4 from 7 means?" The child said, "No, so I guessed." *From* had not been perceived as a synonym for *take away* and the *minus* sign with which he was familiar. Thus, lack of understanding the meaning of words contributes to error.

As the child grows, he not only increases the size of his vocabulary, but changes the way he defines and uses words. A study by Feifel and Lorge of children's definitions showed they used four categories, and the use of these categories varied with age. They tested 900 slightly-above-average school children with the vocabulary section of the Stanford-Binet intelligence test. Figure 10.3 presents their findings on children up to age 14. We can see that the shape of the curve for the use of synonyms begins at age 6 and that the angle of decline in the use of description and use is essentially the same throughout the 6 to 14 period.

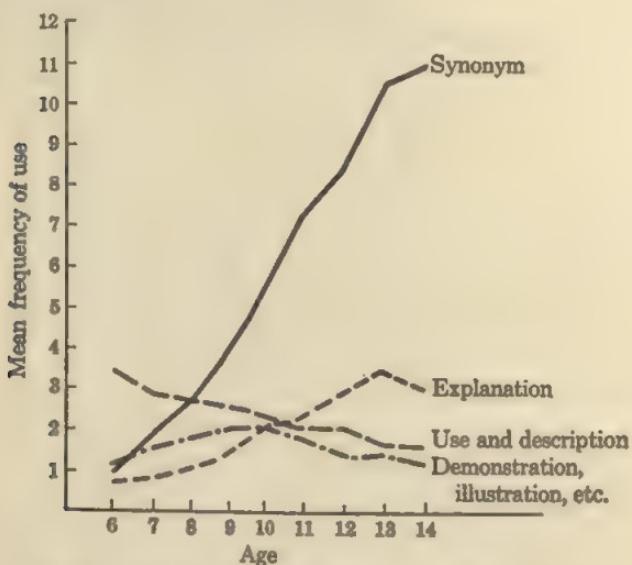


Fig. 10.3. Mean frequency of use of four qualitative categories by age. (Reprinted from "Qualitative Differences in the Vocabulary Responses of Children," H. Feifel and J. Lorge, *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1950, 41, 1-18. Used by permission.)

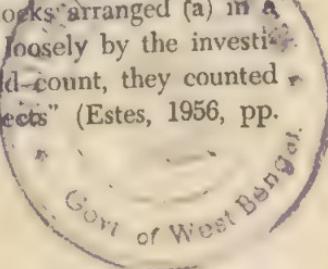
Another study of the relationship between words and learning of children of kindergarten-elementary age showed that verbalization helps learning regardless of age (Weir and Stevenson, 1959).

Thus, the child's world becomes a verbal one, more abstract and symbolic, throughout the years of middle-childhood. His concepts of world and self are mediated and influenced by language. Words can now serve him as substitutes for direct tactal experience. In terms of self development, this is not necessarily all to the good. Ability to conceptualize meanings is shaped by experience, and when experience is inadequate, the child may make errors in understanding because he can use a symbol without comprehending its real meaning.

MATHEMATICAL AND SCIENTIFIC CONCEPTS. Concepts of number, space, and distance follow essentially the same pattern as vocabulary development, because numbers and words are both symbol systems. The process of discrimination of number concepts grows throughout the elementary school years. Usually children enter this period of development able to count in rote order. Early in the period they recognize the number symbols, perform simple addition and subtraction, and develop a rudimentary knowledge of simple fractions. They are not able to deal with such abstractions as *zero, quotient, area, and decimal*.

Work on causal relationships has been conducted more thoroughly by Piaget in Switzerland than by any other individual researcher, but many American psychologists question his findings (but not his creativity) because of his statistical techniques. Often his research is conducted with a few children and, in addition to these problems of sampling, there is the problem of cultural differences between these children and American children.

One study, designed to see if children in the United States developed mathematical and logical concepts the way Piaget reports, used four of his problems and found no support for his conclusions. For example, Piaget (1926) postulates stages in the development of mathematical concepts. Estes found none, but rather an all-or-none response. In the counting test, "the subjects (52 children; ages 4-6) were asked to count 10 small green blocks arranged (a) in a straight line, (b) in a pattern, (c) piled up loosely by the investigator." She found "that if the children could count, they counted correctly whatever the arrangement of objects" (Estes, 1956, pp.



219, 221). It may be that both Piaget and Estes are right. A transactional answer may serve: children learn through experience, and the American culture, with its heavy quantitative emphasis, may provide more motivation and stimulation in this direction. Moreover, stages may occur, but in the American culture may take place earlier than in the culture of the children Piaget studied.

The difference may be due to research methods. If so, this suggests the need to retest Piaget's work, carefully controlling the cultural effects as best we can.

Generally, the research suggests two generalizations: (1) there is a growth sequence in the development of mathematical concepts, and (2) within each year of age there are wide individual differences in the rate of this growth.

There is evidence to suggest that children can be taught to think in terms of causality in a scientific sense, and that they tend to give naturalistic explanations for phenomena. Since this is an age of science and interest in space, and we know that concepts are personal derivations from experience, who can determine the limit of what children might comprehend if it were taught them? They certainly know and use such words as atom, radioactivity, and gravity. Their comprehension of these terms is probably at the earlier stages of concept development; that is, they are concrete, inexact, and vague, lacking many of the ramifications such concepts have for adults. Since they are growing up with these terms which are now part of the culture, the children have formulated, no doubt, many scientific concepts not possessed by their parents in their childhood and not yet explored by researchers.

This statement should not be taken to imply that "maturation" is not functional in the development of concepts: we know that growth is related to age. Nevertheless, we may not be exploiting fully enough the transactional nature of the child's growth in understanding. We know we cannot give a child a concept; he must synthesize from his own experience. However, if we change the nature of the situations we provide, it may be that children can develop some concepts important in our emerging culture sooner than we once assumed.¹

¹ An interesting article, pointing to the experiences we will provide for elementary children, is Paul C. Rosenblum's, "What Is Coming in Elementary Mathematics," *Educational Leadership*, 1960, 18, 96-100.

However, it must be reiterated that concepts and mere manipulation of symbols are not synonymous. Teaching that develops concepts is different from teaching that stresses memorization of definitions. Concepts need to be full of personal meaning, and this comes through discovery and problem solving. The warning of Dewey is still potent when considering efforts which might be made to influence conceptual development: "The premium put in the school-room upon attainment of technical facility, upon skill in producing external results, . . . often changes [the] advantage [of language] into a positive detriment. In manipulating symbols so as to recite well, to get and give correct answers, to follow prescribed formulae of analysis, the pupil's attitude becomes mechanical, rather than thoughtful; verbal memorizing is substituted for inquiry into the meaning of things" (Dewey, 1910, p. 178).

VALUE CONCEPTS. Children are also developing their beliefs about right and wrong and good and bad during these primary school years. During these years the child's concepts of fairness and justice grow and change and his recognition of rules becomes more abstract as it becomes more removed from immediate perceptual experience. Strauss' study of children's changing conceptions of rules (about buying items in a store) and the role-relations of people demonstrates the following sequence of development: "At initial levels, rules are definitional, consequences are few or envisaged by fiat, action is linked closely with immediate situations and activities, and so on. Rules come increasingly to cover more extensive activities of increasing numbers of related roleplayers. To comprehend such rules the child must learn to take into account simultaneously and systematically increasing numbers of perspectives. As he does this he learns to discount his own immediate perspective and perception" (Strauss, 1954, p. 204).

Concepts of fairness also follow a similar pattern from egocentric, absolute thinking to social thinking and perception of complex relationships with others. To the child of 6, being fair means receiving equal treatment—if a sibling gets a present, I get a present; if he wins a game, then I have to win the next one, etc. It takes maturity beyond this level to conceive that something might be fair and yet not include equal treatment. This, of course, raises problems for parents and teachers who operate on a concept in which each child

is recognized as being different, requiring different treatment. The clash of concepts between children and adults is often loud and painful, because the child is unable to comprehend what looks to him like arbitrariness or favoritism. The mixture of egocentricity and expectation of equal treatment sometimes produces odd situations. Thus, when the adult makes a decision which favors the child, the child sees this as fair; when the same judgment favors another child, because the adult is operating on an impartial rule system, a loud, long protest is heard. Sometimes the adult feels it is impossible to be "fair" in the eyes of the child.

Durkin used interviews with second-, fifth-, and eighth-graders to test their concept of justice. She found that justice is a complex concept, not a unified, simple notion. In her study of these children's responses to a question concerning what they would do if a child of the same sex hit them on the playground, she found that all the second-graders responded without asking for any further information about the situation, while about one-fourth of the fifth-graders sought such information (see Chapter 12 for further discussion of children's concepts of causation of behavior). About half the second-graders would tell the authority; about one-third "hit back." About a third of the fifth-graders would tell the authority, another third would hit back, but almost a fourth would ignore the behavior (Durkin, 1959). We see a trend in this study, but also a tremendous latitude in the way an individual would respond.

Social concepts are learned. As such, they are products of the transactions of culture and self. Although there are changes with age, simply knowing the age of the child does not enable one to assume what concepts he holds. We need always to keep our focus upon the individual and to understand his particular organization of concepts as well as the continuing process of his development.

The Developing Self

Identifying and Role-Taking

The processes of identifying and role-taking, begun during earlier stages of self-development, continue throughout this period of growth. The child is extending his concept of self as "male" or "female" and is doing this primarily through his relationships with his

peers. For girls, this seems to be a time of culturally created difficulty in acceptance of sex-role, while the boys have clearly emerged from the protection of mother and are "all male." Brown, for example, found that girls in the first through the fourth grades showed a stronger preference for the masculine rather than the feminine role (Brown, 1957) and Swensen and Newton (1955) found that while sex differentiation on drawings increased with age, elementary school girls differentiated significantly better than the boys.

We know from observation that this is the "tomboy stage" for a girl because a boy's activities look so much more interesting than her own. Perhaps this occurs because the boy has already experienced much of the female culture and has resolved his primary identification problem by the time he enters school. The girl, as she moves out of the home, first becomes more clearly aware that this is still in many ways a "man's world." She sees that the boys have greater freedom—both in deeds and words—and she needs to play the male role both in order to understand it and to solve her problem of basic acceptance of her own sex. Although hypothetical, this is one question we need to ask: How does the world appear to the primary school girl? Why might she perceive being masculine as more valuable than being feminine?

The peer group is the locus of much of the role-taking which occurs during these years. Understanding the role of the "other," which previously involved the parents, now involves the peers. Through organized games, the child learns not only the rules but also the specific roles which must be played. In Chapter 9, we saw that these roles were essential for the survival of group life; but they have another result in the development of the self of the child. Through role-taking in peer group life, the child forms an image of what G. H. Mead called the "generalized other." The way a child behaves in a game situation is controlled by the fact that he projects himself into all his teammates and opponents. Each action is based upon his estimate of how all the others should and will behave. As pitcher, he has to have an idea as to how batter, catcher, fielders, and umpire behave. He cannot play pitcher all alone.

Even if he were to be playing alone in his yard, his imaginative game still includes the roles of these other players. Through this process of identifying with the "generalized other," the organized social group, he not only takes over self-regarding attitudes, not

only develops attitudes toward others, but also takes over and internalizes the value system and activities of his group. "Only in so far as he takes the attitudes of the organized social group to which he belongs toward the organized, cooperative social activity or set of such activities in which that group as such is engaged, does he develop a complete self or possess the sort of complete self he has developed" (Mead, 1934, p. 233).

The school setting, the family setting, and the peer setting are the three facets of the "generalized other" of the growing child. Through day-to-day transactions in these settings, and through taking roles and identifying with the appropriate sex models, he increases the complexity and organization of his self.

Self-Evaluation

The primary school child becomes much more aware of his own body. He develops modesty about going to the toilet. Previously he either may have been unconcerned about this, or may have wished to be observed, but now he seeks privacy. At the same time, he is curious about the physical make-up of the opposite sex and often engages in exploratory play. All the bathroom jokes and giggling over seeing underclothing reflect this new awareness of his body.

Along with this new recognition of his body comes a more complex evaluation of self. Previous self-evaluation was highly influenced by the evaluations of others, but now the child's own evaluations become not only more realistic, but also more critical. He is concerned with achievement and adequacy; both school and peer group demand it. He looks at his own efforts in a more deprecating manner; he can judge them against the efforts of many children around him rather than simply against the evaluations of his parents. An evaluation with insight into this phenomenon of self-deprecation is found in Biber's study of 7- and 8-year-olds:

Sometimes the child's irritation with his own product seemed almost like impatience at being a child, as if the techniques of adults were perfect while his own were halting and inadequate. Certainly from the child's point of view this picture is not overdrawn. At seven, when the child's language is so fluent and his motor development so advanced, techniques such as reading, writing, and drawing are often in a stage of progress which makes complete mastery of them look like nothing short of omnipotence. Some awareness of these phenomena seems to be behind his frequently unduly harsh comments as to his work, on which he has perhaps

put long and earnest effort, almost as if he said, "This is a child's work, and it's no good." Certainly this consciousness of one's self as a child who has grown up from babyhood, but who is a long way from adulthood, is a real and rather recent acquisition at seven. The nursery-age child may have words about when he is grown up, but it is often fantasy pure and simple, like the often-heard remark, "When I get big and you get little." The seven-year-old has a much firmer hold on reality, and is gradually placing himself in the world about him.

Such disapproval of one's work seemed also to reflect the child's attempt to become thoroughly a part of the group about him, to extend the limits of his identification beyond himself and his work to the group which is outside of himself and his product. In order to become the more thoroughly a part of the group, he becomes for a time hostile, repudiating himself and putting behind him the complete identification with and appreciation for his own work which was one of his early steps in his awareness of himself as a distinct person. The fact that usually the child does not expect his expressions of critical, often destructive impulses to be taken at their face value bears out this interpretation. He must do the criticizing to help establish his independence of himself, to increase his feeling of belonging in the group about him, and to express his awareness of the real limitations and imperfections of his work, but it is none the less his own work and he is often deeply attached to it.²

The impact of others outside the family, combined with the further maturation of the child, leads him to such an evaluation of his own efforts. It is almost as though a pendulum were swinging from the grand overvaluation of self to underevaluation as the child attempts to define values. Although single examples illuminate but do not prove anything, the following paper resulted from a first-grade child's desire, as the teacher expressed it, to communicate with the teacher after he had been disciplined several times during the week for not being on his best behavior. It was the child's own spontaneous creation (as the spelling errors might indicate!) He wrote: "I want to be a betr readr and a betr lisnr and I want to be a betr coloring."

HANDLING FEELINGS. Evaluating oneself is not a purely intellectual activity. With our concept of the child as a whole, evaluating the self should include a recognition of the intensity of awareness and the feeling-tones which accompany the evaluating process. The child in school is often not permitted to express his feelings directly;

² Barbara Biber *et al.*, *Child Life in School*, New York, Dutton, 1942, pp. 184-185. Reprinted by permission.

in his home, only certain means of expression are acceptable. The middle-class child, and all children in school, are not expected to use physical aggression. Boys are not expected to cry or show fear. On the other hand, children need outlets for such feelings, and most mental hygienists believe that mental health requires an acceptance of one's own feelings in addition to learning appropriate (cultural) ways of expressing these feelings.

Gesell and Ilg (1946) found an increase in the use of withdrawal devices by 7-year-olds which may reflect their concept that only by withdrawal could they safely handle their feelings of fear of not living up to the world's expectations.

Whether aggression or withdrawal is used seems to be related to the child's perceptions of his parents as power figures. Aggressive children tend to expect more optimistic outcomes from their behavior than withdrawn children and tend to perceive themselves as more powerful in relation to adults than do withdrawn children (Shapiro, 1957). Aggressive children tend to perceive the world as less threatening than do children who withdraw. Boys have, on the whole, more aggressive feelings than girls. Our understanding of the cultural difficulties of boys in school, where there are mostly female teachers and the boys compete against girls who are generally more mature, might account for some of this. It is also more acceptable for boys, a part of their concept of maleness, to show anger through actions, swearwords, and the like.

The child has to move from a situation in which overt expression of all feelings was at least partly acceptable to a situation in which he is constantly told to "act his age." Self-acceptance in such circumstances may be difficult, increasing the amount of threat the child experiences and, thus, increasing his needs to express strong feelings. He feels trapped since he can only express his feelings in subtle, covert ways which do not actually relieve the tension he is experiencing.

A primary task of adults who work with children of this age is to enable them to express their feelings, to come to some understanding of themselves so that their feelings need not be so intense, and to learn to handle their feelings in ways which do not produce either guilt or punishment. An excellent example of the work of teachers in this direction can be seen in Moustakas, *The Teacher and the Child*. Through the use of drawings, expression of wishes, and play

activities, children in primary grades were enabled to see themselves more clearly, to understand their feelings, and to accept themselves more fully.

Positive feelings also continue to develop during middle-childhood. Although research on love and affection has mostly been directed toward the effects of love on the child, we can observe that the child is now capable of expressing warmth and love for others. With his increased awareness that parents and peers are persons in their own right rather than objects to be manipulated, he becomes able to give affection that shows a genuine concern for the other. He gives affection not only to parents and peers, but also to adults outside the family (particularly teachers). He gives affection not only to human beings, but to animals as well. The ways in which affection is expressed depend upon the cultural background, but school-age children often show it by wanting to do things with the other person, to discuss worries and successes with someone else.

Generally, during the years of middle-childhood, the child develops more complex ways of expressing himself. He changes from the child who engages in "all-or-none" behavior to a child who experiences degrees of feeling, comprehends better the source of his feelings, and who can use a variety of ways, both subtle and covert, to express his feelings.

Creating and Imagining

Studies of children's drawings reveal a movement toward re-creating reality. The child draws what he knows or has seen, and attempts to reproduce it accurately. Perhaps this concern for reality and accuracy stem from his school experience and perhaps from his own increasing awareness of the objective world. In either case, the whirls and free-form shapes of the nursery-kindergarten period give way to the houses, trees, airplanes, rockets, and people of the period of middle-childhood. Drawing, painting, and sculpting are used not only for free expression of how the child feels, but also for depiction and interpretation of what he can see. With ability to conceptualize objects and space relations, and increased motor control, the child now uses art both symbolically and representationally, deriving pleasure from the product as well as the activity. His art work is often accompanied by story-telling or depiction of an event.

Imagination is revealed not only through art work, but also through play. The cowboy and Indian chase game carries over from the previous period and becomes more complex. Elaborate plots are evolved, roles are assigned even among the good guys and bad guys, and leaders emerge to run the game. Imaginative play using toy soldiers, blocks, and trucks are still pursued, but these games, too, become highly elaborate and complex. Imaginative play serves to enable the child to increase his understanding of the world, to depict reality, and to play roles of the "other" and, thereby, enhance his self.

Conclusion

The years of middle-childhood are years of emergence from home, years of broadening horizons to include the school, the peers, and the world at large. It is a time of slow, steady physical growth, but rapid and significant growth of self. The self-system constructed within the family is modified and extended by the new experiences which occur during this time. The increased motor development and conceptual development, in conjunction with the new cultural demands, contribute to the increased complexity, integration, and organization of the child's self.

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Part Four

Preadolescence

The Great Unknown

The years of preadolescence have been characterized as the mysterious years, the unknown years. The voluminous body of research on infancy and adolescence dwindles down to a small quantity of articles on the preadolescent. Redl's article, although written in 1943, still appears fresh and to the point. He says:

The reason why we know so little about this phase of development is simple but significant: it is a phase which is especially disappointing for the adult, and especially so for the adult who loves youth and is interested in it. These youngsters are hard to live with even where there is the most ideal child-parent relationship. They are not as much fun to love as when they were younger, for they don't seem to appreciate what they get at all. And they certainly aren't much to brag about, academically or otherwise. You can't play the "friendly helper" toward them either—they think you are plain dumb if you try it; nor can you play the role of the proud shaper of youthful wax—they stick to your fingers like putty and things become messier and messier the more you try to "shape" that age. Nor can you play the role of the proud and sacerdotal warden of the values of society to be pointed out to eager youth. They think you are plain funny in that role [Redl, 1943, p. 44].

The dominance of the peer group begins its period of ascendancy during this time. This adds to the difficulties of the adult in both knowing and working with the preadolescent. His group actively works to keep adults "in the dark." The young child lives on the surface, is open and honest, and we can understand what he feels; the adolescent often tells us in no uncertain terms what he thinks of us, of life in general, and himself. The preadolescent tends to conceal from our direct view the "why" of his existence. His peers know

him well, but the parent, teacher, and researcher are on the outside looking in. We have weighed and measured the child, tested him and scored him, praised him and punished him—but still we know him not.

From a perceptual, self-oriented point of view, these are truly the "unknown years." We must say that we know little and emphasize that much remains to be learned about the life of the preadolescent as he perceives it. We can start readily enough by weighing and measuring. This we can do well; external data are plentiful.

Changes in Bodily Factors

Changes in Size and Rate of Growth

The years of preadolescence are marked by the change from the slow, steady growth of childhood to the beginning of the spurt in growth which continues into adolescence. The range within the group widens, so that we are easily able to observe the differences among youngsters in the same classroom. By the end of this period, the girls are about two years ahead of the boys in development, a factor of much importance in the affairs of childhood. Table 11.1 clearly illustrates this.

Increases in Coordination, Strength, and Health

The preadolescent is a healthier child than his younger brother. He has, largely, passed through the measles, mumps, and chicken pox stage. He shows more resistance to both disease and fatigue.

A major source of information about the physical growth of preadolescents and early adolescents is the California Growth Study. This longitudinal study of the same group of children assembled data on many types of growth. Information from the California study shows the following trends: (1) A high steady increase in strength for both boys and girls occurs, with the degree of variability both within and between the sexes increasing with age. Thus, not only the range of performance but also the differences between children in performance increases. (2) Early and late maturity influences the individual's growth in strength. There is a significant relationship between other measures of physiological maturing and increase in strength. The earlier average maturing of girls is reflected in their

TABLE 11.1

Height and Weight Gains, Ages 9½-12½

Age	Boys		Girls	
	10 Percentile	90 Percentile	10 Percentile	90 Percentile
HEIGHT IN INCHES				
9%	51.5	57	51	56.5
10	52.25	58	51.75	57.5
10½	53.25	59	53	59
11	54	59.75	54	60.5
11½	55	61	55	61.75
12	56	62.25	56	63.25
12½	57	63.5	57.5	64
WEIGHT IN POUNDS				
9%	58.75	85.5	55	84.5
10	61	90	57	89.75
10½	63.75	94.5	60	95
11	66.25	99.25	62.5	100.5
11½	69.25	104.5	66	106
12	72	109.5	69.5	111.5
12½	74.5	116.5	74.75	118

SOURCE: Combined from Tables 9A-D in *Growth and Development of Children*, E. H. Watson and G. H. Lowrey, 1958, Year Book Publishers. Used by permission.

attainment of almost adult levels in thrusting (one measure of strength) at about age 13½ or 14. (3) At about the age of 13 "boys have reached about forty-five percent of their terminal strength, both in pull and thrust, while girls have reached about seventy-five percent of their terminal strength in pull and over ninety percent in thrusting strength" (Jones, 1949, p. 48). This does not mean that girls are stronger than the boys (except in thrusting), but that they are closer to mature functioning. (4) The rise in strength is accompanied by increased manual dexterity. The preadolescent can handle and use his body more efficiently and for longer periods of time (thus resisting fatigue) than he could have done a few years before.

Another study of skill revealed that with each year of growth during the intermediate grades (4 to 6) the youngster becomes signifi-

cantly better able to throw, bat, or kick softballs, volleyballs, and basketballs at targets (Latchaw, 1954).

In summary, the years of preadolescence are vigorous, active years, with emphasis placed on skill and strength.

Personal Meanings of Bodily Factors

The child, perceiving his increasing ability and being concerned with adequacy and peer acceptance, seeks ways to utilize his new physical resources for self-enhancement. Games of skill become important for the boys. Girls are in their last period of high activity and at the last stage of their successful competition with boys. There is greater differentiation at this time into boy groups and girl groups.

Team play of a competitive nature has great personal meaning to the preadolescent boy. In such play he can gain status through his skill, can gain identity with his peers, and can use and enjoy his new abilities and vitality. He needs vigorous play, both for psychological satisfaction and for optimal functioning of his body. This is the age of the "Midget League" and the "Little League." The adult world, seeking its own satisfactions, has created a highly organized competitive situation for these youngsters. Although children need to test themselves, to compete as well as cooperate, the question of the desirable extent of such efforts has often been overlooked.

What does personal failure mean? What does lack of selection to a team mean? What does the great outpouring of energy mean? How does competitive sport affect the physical development of the child? Krogman, one of the outstanding physical anthropologists in the United States, notes that in relation to organized, varsity, or midget league football games during this period (early and preadolescence), the child is most vulnerable to bodily injury because of the growth needs of the body (Krogman, 1954).

Our knowledge of the wide range in individual differences, and of the increasing cultural demands for earlier organized competition lead to the same conclusion in relation to preadolescent competition: highly competitive, organized football and other contact sports are damaging, both in terms of personal meaning and physical processes. Boys of this age can and should play football, but it should be in the neighborhood or playground, where the intense emotional pressure is limited and where each child can find a group with which to play.

As a result of his analysis of the California growth data, and other

data on youth of these ages. Jones concluded: "In the case of boys who are temporarily retarded in growth, informed guidance implies an understanding of their individual growth patterns and potentialities. Especially among these boys and among others of subaverage physical talents, the efforts should not be relaxed to provide adequate encouragement and a program of well-balanced training" (Jones, 1944, p. 119).

In what other ways do the physical forces in operation during preadolescence influence personal meaning? We can infer from their appearance (the dirty, disheveled look) and their behavior with their peers (strenuous play and lots of noise) that their bodies have taken on increased personal meaning. Preadolescents are much more aware of themselves and less concerned with such adult standards as neatness and quietness.

They are aware that the youngsters somewhat older than themselves are changing rapidly and growing away from them. They do not wish to be thought of as "babies." This increased consciousness of their own age level finds expression in their life with their peers and in their choice of activities.

The coordination required for success in school, since school deals with more abstract learning, is easily met by all except those at the bottom of the curve. The relationship between ability to do school-work and to coordinate has diminished greatly. The high energy level and the need for movement which formerly found outlets in primary school activities may now be frustrated in the intermediate grades. Attitudes toward teacher and school may be influenced by the conflict between bodily needs and the cultural demands of the school. The child's own view, we know, will depend upon his own organization of these factors and upon his own self. But the situation created by his maturing body and the increasingly rigid demands of the school create "discipline" problems which he must face and resolve. For example, a fourth-grade boy (constantly in minor trouble) wrote the following comments in a composition about school: "It is hard not to talk for 6 and a half hours. I like lunch, play period, sharing, snack because you can talk. I like projects because you can talk quietly."

In summary, the child enters preadolescence continuing the slow, steady growth of childhood. He finishes this period at the beginning of the growth spurt. He gains in strength, health, and coordination,

and these changes manifest themselves in behavior. His view of himself and his interpersonal world is influenced by his changing body. His concern with athletic prowess is partially attributable to his increased skill. His difficulties in school (boys have more troubles than girls) are partially attributable to his need for activity which can no longer find acceptable outlets within the average school program. The growth in body is complemented by, and exceeded by, the conceptual development of the child during this time. He enlarges, clarifies, and sharpens his definition of self and world.

The Interpersonal World

Family Relationships

A major task of the preadolescent is to sever his close, dependent relationships with his parents and move out into the world of peers and other adults. This process, begun with entrance into school, assumes more personal significance during the preadolescent years. Going to school was an adult, cultural decision over which the child had no control. Emancipation from the home and defining a new relationship with his parents is the child's decision. This movement away from the parents is not completed until the end of adolescence. The child still perceives his parents favorably and is very involved in family affairs. A large majority of the 730 rural and small-town Midwestern youngsters in one study, for example, reported that they discussed their plans with their mothers (at least sometimes) and that their mothers were much more likely than not to tell them the reason for punishment. Eighty-four percent reported that they helped decide what clothes to buy, at least sometimes, and 75 percent played a role in choosing things at stores. These activities suggest a trend toward independence (Hawkes *et al.*, 1957, pp. 394-395).

Although emancipation is the child's decision, parental attitudes and expectations, such as those attributed to the Midwestern parents, play a role. The Detroit Area Study, mentioned earlier in Chapter 7, gives evidence of parental concern for their children's independence. "Mothers in the older middle classes are also more likely to feel that it is desirable for his mother's sake that a child frequently be left at home with a competent woman while the mother shops, and to say that children should be put on their own as soon as possible to solve

their own problems. Finally, the entrepreneurial mothers more often state that, among adolescents, only males should perform activities traditionally associated with their sex, like washing the family car and shoveling sidewalks" (Miller and Swanson, 1958, pp. 105-106). The newer middle-class mother more closely approximates, in her attitudes about dependency, the Ohio parents discussed below.

Parents' views of what children "need" reveal the differences between their perceptions of boys and girls, and support the boys' reports that parents are harder on them than they are on girls. A group of parents of sixth-graders attending the Ohio State University Laboratory School stated the following as the needs of their children:

Boys need help in: controlling temper, remembering chores, completing jobs started, becoming more detail-minded, being more cooperative, being willing to share, building more mature interests, becoming more mature in decisions. They need help in emotional development, in choice of values, overcoming dawdling, being prompt at mealtime and bedtime, improving cleanliness of body and clothing, getting imagination and achievement more in line, improving mechanical ability, improving skills, having more direct arts experiences.

Girls need help in: working with tools, learning to concentrate, learning to budget time, overcoming nervousness [Loomis, 1959, p. 28].

It will be noted that these parents showed little understanding or acceptance of the youngster's perceptions of what is important and little awareness of the child's own private world. There is no mention of standing on one's own. They are concerned with getting a child to conform, to do something, to behave in an adult, socially acceptable fashion. Parents are dedicated to making their children "responsible"—a worthy dedication, but one that leads boys to feel that the peer group is the safest haven, and that it is sometimes hard to live with parents.

In spite of the parents' long list of needs, and in spite of the efforts made by parents to teach youngsters responsibility by involving them in household chores, the evidence suggests the futility of this. Harris compiled answers to a questionnaire called "What are my Jobs," as well as a rating of responsibility by teachers, and an attitude scale toward citizenship in relation to 3,000 children between the ages of 6 and 14. He found that there is "little evidence that the routine tasks are associated with an attitude of responsibility" (Harris *et al.*, 1954, p. 32). Although these tasks are worthwhile and parents may

legitimately seek the child's help, they do not build character. The Ohio State parents placed "chores" and "completing jobs started" high in terms of their perception of need. We thus have parental pressure to perform and evidence that performance does not lead to incorporation of the concept of "responsibility" into the self of the preadolescent. The stronger demand for performance seems to be made upon the boys. The conflicting views, between parents and male preadolescents, of what is valuable has resulted in the discovery, in one study, for example, that "girls perceived themselves as significantly more accepted and intrinsically valued by parents than did boys" (Ausubel *et al.*, 1954, p. 179).

Most children, in spite of their occasional difficulties with parents, view them in a positive light. They do not see their parents as the idols of early childhood, but they still respect, love, and obey them. They feel their parents love them, but do not necessarily understand them.

Helen Parkhurst, who conducted a radio and television program called the "Child's World" (in which she interviewed children), recorded the following conversation:

She asked, "Do you think that parents want you to grow up, or do they wish you to remain babies—which?"

Abby, aged 10, answered, "I think that parents want to keep you babies. They don't want you to have so many rights."

"Why?"

"Well," she sighed, "it's this way. Parents have the problems of life and all the things to go through, and they think they'll just handle everything themselves and *protect* their children. But when the children grow up, they'll have to handle their own things."

"Yes," said eleven-year-old Jean, a bit scornfully, "the parents would like to keep the children from all these problems, but I don't think they *are* protecting them, because they are keeping them from learning, or doing things that they'll have to do sooner or later, and it's hurting them to hold back—for finally they'll have to go out in the cruel world and find out that all this stuff that they were led to believe *has never existed!*" [Parkhurst, 1951, pp. 244-245].

Preadolescents, then, are both perceptive and sensitive about the parent-child relationship. Normal children feel generally "good" about the relationship but are aware of the stresses. Disturbed children perceive their parents as rejecting, disliking, maltreating, and unjustly punishing them. We know that such perceptions of

parents are related to self-perceptions of unworthiness and inadequacy.

These children's perceptions are partial explanations of why this period is so unknown to the adult. The child establishes himself more securely, in both his private world and with his peers, as a way of coping with his changed view of his relation with adults.

School Life

Children change from the fairly easy acceptance of the teacher in the primary grades to a more differentiated view during the intermediate and later school years. They can define the behavior of teachers they like and dislike. They tend to like that behavior which shows the teacher is interested in their growth, is impartial and fair, is warm and human, and is interested in her own appearance (Jersild, 1940). They respond favorably to a democratic classroom and a group climate in which they feel they have a "voice" in their own affairs.

They are also influenced by the teacher's behavior in terms of their own selves. Their self-understanding is affected by the way the teacher behaves toward them in the classroom. An intriguing study by Staines in Australia tested the hypothesis that specific changes can be made in the self-pictures of children in the classroom by teaching in a particular way. His study demonstrated that the self-picture is influenced by statements made by teachers about children.

He first explored the type and amount of self-reference statements made by teachers to and about children. Teachers gave children such evaluations as "You're better at sums than you are at spelling" or "Just look at what Jack's done," or "Jim, you're the tallest in the class," all alluding to physique and performance. In some classes, teachers made few such statements; in others, many. They stressed performance and status.

Staines hypothesized that children's self-images would be influenced in different ways by teachers, depending upon the frequency of self-reference statements. Two classrooms were used. In the classroom of the teacher who was not aware of the self-picture of his pupils and who used normal methods of teaching to produce academic improvement in English and arithmetic, the pupils "showed significant decreases in certainty about self and in differentiation" (Staines, 1958, p. 97).

On the other hand, in the experimental classroom, the teacher "studied the Self-ratings of his class and tried to teach so that certain Self-ratings were changed . . . significant differences were found in two dimensions of the Self, certainty and differentiation" (Staines, 1958, p. 97). What do these findings mean? The experimenter defined certainty as the ability of the person to evaluate himself and differentiation as the ability to distinguish various levels and categories within the self. Throughout this book we have seen the importance of the concept of differentiation as a growth process. The experimenter felt it was indicative of mental health, and this writer concurs. This study also clearly revealed "that changes in the Self-picture are an inevitable part of both outcomes and conditions of learning in every classroom, whether or not the teacher is aware of them or aiming for them. . . . The Self can be deliberately produced by suitable teaching methods" (Staines, 1958, p. 109). This can be effectively done without sacrificing academic goals. The students in the experimental class did a little better than those in the control class.

Why pay so much attention to one study? It supports, through experimental methods, the concept that the self is a complex, learned organization, open to change through transactions with the environment. It reinforces the importance of the understanding of the child's self by the teacher so that time in the classroom may lead to growth in self as well as in academic goals. It shows that the organization of the child's self is still in process, and that the behavior of teachers is interpreted by the child in personal ways that may either lead to growth or retardation. Knowledge of self thus becomes an essential for the teacher.

Classroom life and teacher behavior influence the growing self of the child in ways other than those of differentiation and certainty about self. We have stressed the integrating process as concomitant with the differentiating process. When teachers are integrated, their students' behavior becomes more spontaneous and constructive, more integrated, and reveals more initiative. The fluidity of the child's self is also evident in that his behavior changes in accordance with how like his present teacher his next teacher will be (Anderson and Brewer 1946a, 1946b).

The classic study of boys' preadolescent group life by Lewin, Lippitt, and White demonstrated in still another way that behavior

is transactional in nature, a function of the self in a given situation. They organized four clubs, each of five 10-year-old boys, and exposed them to three different types of adult leader control—"democratic," "aristocratic," and "laissez-faire." They varied the sequence of experiences so that each group went through all three climates in differing order. They varied the leadership to control, as best they could, the personality of the leader.

Observation records, interviews, and stenographic records constituted some of the sources of data. They indicated that the leadership technique, rather than any other personality variable, influenced the boys' behavior. When the situation was restrictive in nature, the behavior of the boys became aggressive, less sociable, etc.; when the situation was encouraging, free, accepted and clearly defined, the boys moved toward group cohesion, their behavior became more spontaneous, productive, and integrated. The absence of any guidance or help in the laissez-faire situation was not enhancing to the self. There was much frustration, low morale, and mutual interference (Lippitt and White, 1943).

All these studies illustrate the importance of the behavior of others (in these cases adult authority figures) in shaping and modifying the self of the child. As the situation changes, the behavior changes of others reflect the child's perception of what is permissible and possible. Even though preadolescence is a time of peer orientation, the role of the adult is still a vital and important one. When adults operate in ways which enable the child to perceive that the adults are seeking to understand him, to know him, to aid him, the child responds by becoming more integrated and differentiated. By clarifying his view of himself, his behavior becomes more positive.

To balance our picture, let us again move to within the child. It is not the situation *per se* that modifies his behavior; it is his perception of it. This perception is influenced not only by the present situation but also by the already developed self. The teacher may behave in the same fashion toward two children with quite different results. The child's perception of the teacher will influence his response. For example, Laird (1956) explored the ways in which 11-year-olds perceived their teachers. She studied middle-class and lower-class boys and found that the middle-class boy believes that teachers usually see him as good, while his lower-class schoolmate sees himself as rejected by and valued less by some teachers. A significant difference

lies in the ability to differentiate—the middle-class boy does not equate disapproval of his behavior with disapproval of himself as a person; the lower-class boy does. The situation perceived by the lower-class boy is thus a more threatening one. This perception of threat reduces his efficiency and leads to further behavior that keeps him in trouble with his teacher.

The preadolescent years are, for many boys, the time they begin to get into difficulty at school. They fall behind in their work and resist school standards; they perceive school as threatening, or of little positive value. When asked to describe school experiences, they often reply in negative terms. They are concerned with how the class sees them, as well as the teacher's perception of their worth. For example, Mark, a sixth-grader of average intelligence but poor coordination, evaluated school as follows:

I. What I thought to get from the six grade

I hoped to get thing straight about my arithmetic and I knew that I would get something out of the six grade—although arithmetic was the biggest—problem I also wanted a nice class teacher.

II. What I did get from the six grade

In Arithmetic I feel as though I had learned something I know I can—write faster without pusing my pen through the desk. On my desimals I can sometimes finesh with Joan if its easy me and the class get along fine. I disoved that its best to get through than doing it tomorrow or the next day I feel that I learned lots more than I did last year.

SCHOOL DAYS

4th grade first part of year in Mrs. Lewis room starting to—learn something how to write and hold a pencil then the latter part of the year I was transferred into a young teachers room Miss Smith. She had a rough time with, a guy named Johnny he didn't know or do anything while I was in Miss Smiths room I learned nothing.

5th grade knowing nothing from following year had a tough time tring to chach up with the class could not chach up because I cound't hold the pencil right and it took me a long time to finesh the kids had no time for me you might say. Didn't learn much in grade 5 eather.

6th grade didn't know to much when I cam in I found out that the kids were real nice during the past year I feel I have learned much.

A fourth-grade boy, when asked to write a composition called "At School," submitted the following:

I don't like school because you have to work. I don't like work because you have to write. I don't like to write because my hand gets tired. I

don't like workbooks because you have to work. I don't like to come to school because you have to get up real early. I don't like to read because you can't finish your regular work.

Of course, the great majority of youngsters do not feel so negative about school; some feel neutral, and most enjoy it. The point is that the teacher needs to find ways to learn how his pupils see themselves in relation to school. With this knowledge, he can provide opportunities and experiences in his room to enable children to modify these negative concepts and see themselves as worthwhile, able people and see the school as an exciting place for discovering new things about themselves and their world.

Peer Perceptions

Chapter 9 presented a general view of peer group life. How do preadolescents perceive their relationships with peers? How do they evaluate peer behavior?

First, they are highly aware of sex differences. Behavior toward the opposite sex is aggressive and antagonistic. Boys wouldn't be caught dead showing affection toward girls, although the girls do not feel so negative toward the boys. Since sex identification is a major concern of the preadolescent, he perceives his same-sex gang as an essential force in enabling him to meet this concern. An attempt to see how preadolescents perceived their peers utilized an incomplete sentence technique, in which 3,000 children in a Minnesota county (grades three to twelve) completed such statements as: "Most boys _____" and "Most girls _____. " An analysis of the content of the replies shows that most preadolescent youngsters are more favorably disposed to their same-sex peers and that the girls make increasingly unfavorable comments about boys through the sixth grade and then modify their position (Harris and Tseng, 1957, pp. 401-411).

Similar results concerning boy-girl relationships during these years have been demonstrated by researchers using observation, sociometric techniques, rating scales, and questionnaires.

Second, adequacy is of great importance in the peer group. Some insight into *why* this is so, into what the preadolescent seeks from his peers (and is willing to give to his peers) has been achieved through a longitudinal study conducted at Harvard. Sanford reports:

What can be stated with some definiteness, on the basis of our results, is that gravitation toward other children which appears to be especially pronounced in the middle child [in this study an age group nine to thirteen]—his tendency to be with other children . . . is not an expression of his greater capacity for genuine social feeling. . . . By joining with other children a subject at this age is better able to carry out his practical aims. For some of his projects he requires the cooperation of the group, and for satisfying some of his positive needs, chiefly the need for "Dominance" and "Recognition" [as measured by projective techniques] the response of the group is necessary. Furthermore, it seems that the middle class [in age] child derives necessary *support* from this group; he is better able to master his childish fears if he has his "Gang" around him, and problems of guilt and anxiety are solved by "doing what others do." It seems important to note, too, that though the middle period is properly termed a period of marked "socialization" it is not the time at which we find the greatest capacity for behaving according to internalized moral standards. Sanctions for the middle child are provided largely by the social group of which he is a member, and he changes as they change; the development of a social conscience which will determine the course of the child's behavior regardless of the pressure of the group—and this we have seen earlier—does not reach its highest point until later [Sanford *et al.*, 1943, p. 167].

A more recent study, designed to test the relationship between peer acceptance, self-acceptance, and acceptance of others, seems to support this conclusion. Zelen studied 145 fifth-grade boys and girls in Iowa. These youngsters filled out self-rating scales and took a sociometric test. Zelen found a substantial relationship between acceptance of others and peer acceptance, between acceptance of self and peer status, but not between acceptance of self and acceptance of others. He suggests that external, behavioral factors are perceived by peers of this age, but little attention is paid to understanding others (Zelen, 1954). In other words, peers are judged on performance and utility. Belonging to the gang enables the youngster to work on his adequacy needs. He judges his peers in the same terms, looking at their adequacy and at their roles in the group.

Each youngster establishes a reputation and his peers evaluate his standing in the group in terms of this reputation. Class differences affect both reputation and standing. Pope used the California "guess who" technique, in which a child was asked to identify children who were restless, talkative, fighters, etc., with 400 sixth-grade boys and girls in Oakland drawn from predominantly white schools. About half the youngsters were in the lower class and half were in the high-

est social class in school. He found that high prestige boys, regardless of class, were perceived by their peers as being active in games, possessing older friends, being leaders. Lower-class boys did not value "taking a joke" as highly as the high-class boys, and the latter did not find "fighting" so acceptable.

The class differences between the girls seemed to center about their definition of sexual role. For example, Pope reports: "The tomboy is an unpopular figure with the High Girls. She is placed very close to the rejected grouping of noisy, fighting, bossy and attention-getting traits. . . . In the low group, she has a good deal more prestige, personifying a status producing pattern which contrasts with the 'little lady.' She is known as the tough, fighting tomboy, who is more advanced in heterosexual interests than her lady-like contemporaries. The High Girls have no such well-defined, acceptable directly aggressive type" (Pope, 1953, p. 205).

The preadolescent peer group, through its conformist pressures, its emphasis on the need of children to be accepted, its stereotypes of "good" and "bad" behavior, shapes the external behavior of its members. Even though children may resist inwardly or feel threatened, they attempt to produce the behavior they think the group expects of them. This is particularly true in ambiguous situations. Where what is right is clear, children can "stick by their guns" to some degree, but when it is unclear, the group attitude will affect the judgment of the individual child.

An example of the phenomenon of group pressure is contained in the study by Berenda. She set up judgmental situations in which the correct answer varied from clear to unclear and in which a single child or a small minority was placed in opposition to a prestige majority of peers. She found that even though the child in the minority thought the answer was wrong, he tended, if the situation was unclear, to change his judgment to conform with that of his peers. Even though he was disturbed, the child conformed. He followed, even when it was painful and obvious to him that he was changing to an incorrect answer. When the child was placed in opposition to the teacher, he more staunchly maintained the differences in his answers.

Berenda concludes: "Both the behavior during the test as well as the protocols obtained in personal interviews with each child point to the fact that the teacher is not viewed in the same way by a child

as are his classmates. The position of the teacher really is one of an outsider who, although part of the school situation, is never judged as a member of the group. . . . The child's membership in the group is not threatened by the disagreement of the teacher" (Berenda, 1950, p. 77).

This situation is a matter of concern to adults. Teachers and parents do not like to find their power usurped by the child's age-mates. Conflicts between adults and peers, mentioned in Chapter 9, become a part of the child's pattern and way of life in preadolescence. It is not that adults don't count, but that peers, under certain ambiguous conditions, count more. Two ideas should be stressed, however: (1) when the child has a clear-cut perception of right and wrong, he can resist peer pressure, and (2) clear-cut value perceptions are begun *before* this time. Parents and teachers, therefore, need to enable the child to experience and absorb values which will then permeate his behavior in relation to his peers. Peer pressures are strongest upon the child who has been taught to be dependent upon the judgment of others, to underevaluate his own self and his own knowledge, or who has not had clear models and images to identify with at earlier stages in his life.

It might be hypothesized that the "new" parent depicted in the Detroit Area Study, the "Organization Man" and the "Other-Directed person," will impart to his children an increasing need for the peer group as arbiter of values. Such children might become less able to "stick with" their own answers in the face of the majority because they have been taught to look to the majority for answers. It remains, of course, for future research to test the effect of these parents upon the self-strength of their children. All we can do here is hypothesize.

Summary

The preadolescent years are unique in the story of the self-development of the child. Bodily and social forces unite to present the child with new views of his interpersonal world and his own body. It is a time when growth in stature is slow, when coordination skill allows for team play, and when the culture provides numerous group experiences. It is the beginning of emancipation from the home and

emergence into the life of the peer group. External control begins its great shift from adult to age-mate. It is a time of high adequacy striving and evaluation of behavior of both self and others.

In this setting, the self continues its conceptual and evaluational development. Chapters 12 and 13 will focus upon self-development during these years.

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Conceptual Development

Increased Understanding of the World

Concepts Held by Preadolescents

What does "zero" really mean? What does "being created in God's image" mean? How long ago was the American Revolution? What is meant by "behavior is caused"? What is "democracy"? Can preadolescents comprehend the answers to these questions? Are they able to conceptualize accurately about time, space, behavior, and society? Do they hold relatively clear pictures of their physical environment? How well can they deal with abstractions? Must they depend upon concrete experience, in order to develop concepts?

The capabilities of this age group are of concern not only to the educator who is faced with the task of developing appropriate curriculums in this modern age, but also to the parents and professionals who are trying to understand and help the child in his overall development. Parents lament their inability to "reason" with their children. Is this because the children are unable to understand, or choose not to understand? What are the research data about the concepts held by preadolescents?

In our transactional framework, we know that particular concepts are functions of organism-environment transactions, so that age, intelligence, experience, socioeconomic status, and the *Zeitgeist* all influence the content and formation of concepts. We do not really know what children *might* conceptualize if we educated them differently. Some current studies of the subjects of mathematics and

science suggest that a completely different sequence of curriculums will lead children to new and different concepts of the physical world. Thus, set theory, probabilities, and topology may all be introduced much earlier than was previously thought possible.

*Mathematical-scientific concepts*¹ held by children may thus be subject to change. The research on scientific concepts was mostly done in the 1930's, and there is need for careful current research in this field.

Children's scientific knowledge varies widely from generation to generation, from region to region, and also from child to child. Though these differences exist, the general trend is one in which knowledge grows as the child grows. Youngsters growing up in Florida's Cape Canaveral section discuss thrust, gravity, etc., with much erudition, but 12-year-olds, on the average, discuss these terms and others with more knowledge than 9- or 10-year-olds.

Understanding of arithmetical concepts also shows a similar trend of development. The preadolescent seems able to comprehend the concept of "zero" at about the fifth-grade level. Concepts of indeterminates seem to come into focus in the sixth grade; then the child can use with accuracy such terms as hardly, few, and several. The movement from perceptual to conceptual thinking during these years is also shown in the way distance is understood. Preadolescents and early adolescents do not have a general knowledge of distance and they deal with distance by use of two frames of reference. For nearby locations, they use their own direct experience; for distant locations, they use maps. What is important is that they are able to use *both*; they are not dependent only on direct experience, although they use this where applicable, but can shift to a more conceptual, abstract approach when direct experience is insufficient. The child cannot develop a concept without experience, but the experience no longer need be direct.

An unpublished study by Jersild of children's knowledge of biology, current events, and geography made in New York City during the 1940s showed the effects of age, intelligence, and experience upon knowledge. He found that knowledge increased with age and that there were differences between intelligence groups. Analysis of his findings shows the effect of experience. Only about 40 percent

¹ For a fuller discussion, see D. Russell, *Children's Thinking* (1955).

of preadolescents knew how watermelons grew. This writer would predict that close to 100 percent of youngsters this age living in several Florida counties would consider this a basic fact of life. All the youngsters in Jersild's study could identify who Clark Gable and Franklin Roosevelt were (Jersild, 1960, p. 363). To illustrate the fleetingness of fame, the author drove through Independence, Missouri, in the summer of 1960 because his young son, upon hearing the name Harry Truman (before the Democratic convention), said, "Who is Harry Truman?"

Time concepts are still in a state of development. The 10-year-old's concept of historical time is not yet accurate. We have numerous jokes about teachers being asked if they knew Lincoln or, worse still, Washington. Sunday school teachers have much difficulty in conveying the historical time of both Old and New Testament to preadolescent youngsters who cannot conceive of the thousands of years between the times of Moses and Jesus, between the times of Jesus and now. Further, since history in the schools deals with yet other time periods and events (the exploration of America), the children have difficulty developing a sense of perspective from their experience. Thus, both age and experience combine to inhibit understanding. Children do comprehend how historical time is reckoned before they reach their teens; they can manipulate time lines (that is, locate dates on a line from 0 to 1961) at 13, but maturity is not reached until 16.

Can different teaching procedures influence the pattern of development? The research is scant, but Pistor's (1940) study, for example, showed that the type of social studies program in sixth grade did not affect the development of the concept of time. Experience alone, in this case, was insufficient and perhaps it takes time to understand time. However, it may be that differently designed research would have produced different results.

Social concepts, such as the meaning of democracy, have also been studied. When a group of sixth-graders were asked what democracy meant, most mentioned freedom, fewer mentioned security, and fewer still listed responsibility. The group thought they were experiencing democracy in home and school and felt they knew what democracy was and valued it (Zeligs, 1950). It is worth noting the differential between freedom and responsibility.

Children living at another time or in a different culture might

have placed them on an equal basis. One of the concerns of parents and teachers is that children equate democracy and freedom without understanding the role of responsibility. Our American heritage of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," the "Four Freedoms" of the Atlantic Charter, and the many allusions to the "Free World" may account, to some degree, for ranking freedom first. A study of the changing concepts of democracy with age would be useful in clarifying the role of cultural experience.

Preadolescents have the ability to conceptualize about religion. Concepts of God change from the primitive, anthropomorphic image of the kindergartner to more abstract and spiritual definitions. Many late preadolescents are able to understand, in its spiritual rather than literal sense, the statement in Exodus that man was created in the image of God. They realize that God has no body and that this statement refers to God's spiritual rather than corporal image. Most believe that God rewards good behavior and punishes evil.

The ability to deal with abstractions is perhaps the great change which occurs during this age. It is, of course, not an abrupt change, but fifth-graders seem able to handle abstract ideas and relations.

Another aspect of the development of social concepts is the ability of children to understand the meaning of behavior. The work of Ojemann and his colleagues at the University of Iowa has contributed greatly to our understanding of the transactional nature of this ability. For about 20 years, these researchers have been exploring the many ramifications of the problem of trying to improve mental hygiene in the elementary school. They have trained teachers to use social studies materials to present the concept that "behavior is caused."

They have carefully studied the effects of this training program upon children and found that a concept could not be developed by merely introducing this as a subject for a part of the day while the rest of the program was unaffected. This concept "recognizes that human behavior is produced by many factors and that one can distinguish between an approach to a given behavior incident which recognizes and takes into account the variety of factors that may have produced it as compared with an approach that considers mainly the overt form of the behavior" (Ojemann *et al.*, 1955, p. 95).

One of their many research reports can serve as a guide to their

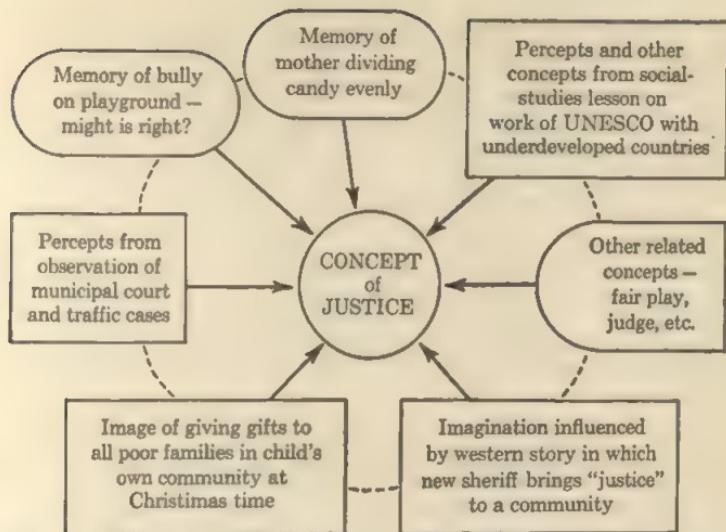


Fig. 12.1. A few factors influencing a 12-year-old's concept of justice. (Reprinted from *Children's Thinking*, D. Russell, 1956, Ginn and Company, p. 126. Used by permission.)

program. In this particular study, four teachers (one each from the fourth and fifth grade and two from the sixth grade), in a Mid-western industrial town, were given special training. The program covered developmental problems of normal children, teachers' personal problems, research techniques applicable to classroom use, the causal approach to behavior, techniques of meeting classroom problems, and preparation of special materials. In addition to the one-month intensive summer study of the above, 12 conferences were scheduled during the school year.

The materials which were developed included collections of problem stories, workbooks and exposition of the causal approach, and revised social studies units.

Two control teachers were selected for each experimental teacher, and the control teachers had access to the materials, though not the training. The classes of both groups of teachers were then tested.

Two tests were administered, both before and after a semester of class experience. One test measured the punitiveness of the child; the other his understanding of causality of behavior. The researchers conclude: "The classes of the experimental teachers showed distinctly

significant changes on the two measures when compared with classes of the control teachers.

"It thus appears that when we bring children of the upper elementary grade levels under the influence of causally oriented teachers teaching causal content we bring about significant differences in the child's growth in the aspects measured in this study" (Ojemann *et al.*, 1955, p. 113).²

This careful study shows that scientific concepts about human behavior can be understood by preadolescents when they are fully exposed to them. Such concepts can be consciously built into the educational framework rather than leaving their development to chance experience.

This research opens up many possibilities for exploring the role of guided experience in concept development. It offers support for the position that what children *are* does not necessarily control what children *may become*. It casts suspicion on procedures which utilize only *current* knowledge of children as the criterion for curriculum development. It emphasizes the vital influence of the transactional field in effecting future self-development. It removes from us the rigid, ontogenetic barrier to understanding behavior. Although, as we have stressed, age is an important condition in concept formation, we do not know the *minimal* age at which certain concepts *could* be learned if they were actively taught.

The Increasing Ability to Conceptualize

Growth in intellectual ability is steady and continuous during these years. With each succeeding year, children become more intelligent, as measured by intelligence tests. Two longitudinal studies demonstrate, however, the individuality of this growth. The Fels Research Center studied 140 children as they matured from age 3 to age 12, in an attempt to understand changes in IQ score (Sontag *et al.*, 1958; Kagan *et al.*, 1958). The California Growth Study data were analyzed for somewhat the same reasons (Bayley, 1956). Both point out the continued development of idiosyncratic (individual) patterns of growth and change. Although there is individual fluctuation in score, there is at the same time a group trend of continued growth with age.

² A description of the present program resulting from this research is given in R. Ojemann (1958).

The changes of an individual's IQ seem to be related to personality factors within the individual. The changes in IQ scores during the school years are not due to the changing ratio between verbal and nonverbal items that occurs as the individual grows older (Baker, 1955). That is, the composition of the test items themselves do not seem to make the difference. Rather, children's scores change for more complex reasons that lie within the children themselves. Intellectual functioning is but one aspect of total functioning, and is compounded of maturational, experiential, and personal factors. Although we can safely predict that ability will increase with age for most children, some children will do more poorly because of their total life situation.

The role of age in increasing conceptual ability has been shown in many studies. A recent British study (Annett, 1959), for example, attempted to explore the development of concepts. Is there a sequence? When do "incorrect" responses change to "correct" ones? Annett had 303 children, ages 5 through 11, sort 16 cards (four each having animals, plants, vehicles, and furniture) into any arrangement chosen by the child. She found that the errors (failure to sort into four equal piles) were systematic rather than random, until such time as the correct responses occurred. That is, the young child placed a plant picture and a table together because plants go on tables. The sequence of development ran from the contiguity approach, to the point where similarity was the criterion, and, finally, to class name (i.e., "plant"). The latter was achieved by the 9- to 11-year-olds. Sigel (1953) also found this increasing use of conceptual grouping, in which an object is treated as a member of a class, as age increased from 7 to 9 to 11 years.

The preadolescent has not finished his development. Using a free-association technique, Davidon and Longo (1960) compared 10-year-olds with adolescents. Assuming that free-association of names is a measure of conceptual development, they reported that older children can do this more rapidly. We may have here a quantitative difference in ability as compared to the qualitative difference reported by Annett.

In addition to these factors, socioeconomic status, sex, and emotional factors also influence conceptual performance. Siller (1957) analyzed the performance of upper- and lower-class sixth-graders on conceptual items on intelligence tests. Since he concluded that up-

per-class children do better, the question as to the effects of experiential "deprivation" on conceptualization of preadolescents is raised. Several other studies over the years, summarized by Gibb and Van Engen, show a low relation of socioeconomic factors to scores on concept tests. They state, "Experience and training have relatively high correlation with concept formation" (1959, p. 5).

The effects of emotions, to be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, should not be overlooked here. If the child is disturbed, his ability to think is affected, since thinking and feeling are inextricably interwoven. An example of this may be found in a study of children's performance on the Stanford-Binet intelligence test in relation to their degree of emotional stability as measured both by tests and clinical judgments. The results indicated "that the children with personality dysfunctions do not perform intellectually in the same manner as those with more healthy personalities" (Granick, 1955, p. 656).

The effect of specific training techniques in concept development has also been investigated. We still know relatively little about how children develop concepts, although we know the factors which affect development. One study was concerned with the relative effect of different training methods for developing concepts about "area" in fifth-grade children. Three different methods were used, involving differing amounts of concrete, laboratory materials. The conclusions reached were "that the laboratory approach where each student may actually use materials himself is more effective if we are interested not only in a child's success in solving problems familiar to him but also in his ability to transfer learning to new situations." It is also most effective "if we are interested not only in getting a general idea, but in developing an understanding" (Gibb and Van Engen, 1959, p. 37).

Summary and Implications

The increasing ability of preadolescents to conceptualize, as well as the increasing complexity of the concepts they hold, are functions of age, previous general experience, intelligence, and direct, specific training. The role of experience in developing concepts suggests that schooling can be designed to facilitate both the acquisition of specific concepts and the time in which they are learned. All too often

materials or information have been presented to children in school because of ideas of adults about the sequence and ways in which facts and concepts should be learned. History has often been taught on a chronological basis when more exciting and conceptually fruitful ways might be found. The ability of intermediate grade pupils to abstract and to classify has often been ignored or undeveloped because of the emphasis on teaching masses of data rather than conceptual schemes for ordering these data. The need for laboratory experience has been recognized, but often this experience is not accompanied by the "reflective thinking" which is needed to help the child see the concrete experience in perspective so that he can achieve the "transfer" mentioned in the Gibb and Van Engen study.

We are on the threshold, it seems to this author, of making the central role of the school that of concept development. When we recognize that behavior, to a great extent, is a function of the concepts held by the person, we will turn increasingly to research in this area.

We need not only specific research into various areas of subject matter such as science, social studies, and mathematics, but also further research into the process by which concepts are developed. We need to know much more about the way in which a child integrates his experiences. We need to know much more about the role of the emotions in concept development. We need to know much more about the influence of self-concept upon other concepts.

The importance of the self-concept is perhaps primary. All other concepts are probably related to self-concept, which is the core of the whole conceptual scheme of the person.

Value Concepts

We have devoted our attention so far in this chapter to non-self-concepts. We now turn our attention to those concepts more closely related to self—the value concepts.

What kinds of values do preadolescents hold? Are these children still essentially egocentric in their moral approach to the world? Do they perceive more clearly than younger children the adult mores and attempt to identify with these mores? What are their ethical standards?

In this section we are concerned with children's concepts of

"should" and "ought," "right" and "wrong." In earlier chapters, the development of value judgments through the identification process was discussed. There is general agreement that character development, or the development of conscience, is a result of the transactions between the organism and the cultural, interpersonal environment. The transactional nature of values needs to be emphasized, especially to parents who may feel that there is no point in reasoning with children or expecting them to make value judgments until they reach the "age of reason."

Jones' summary of the research up to 1954 gives the transactional position. This summary indicates that there is no age level which can be properly referred to as the "age of discretion" before which children's actions may be considered relatively unsusceptible to training and unimportant in terms of character development, and after which children's conduct suddenly yields to education and the conditioning of the culture (Jones, 1954, p. 795). Character has been considered as a dynamic concept, involving both psychocultural determinants and inner creativeness (p. 827).

Let's look at the results of this interplay in preadolescence. First, we can see the developmental process. Ugurel-Semin's study of children in Istanbul, Gollin's study of Midwestern American children, and Harrower's study of London children, among others, reveal a developmental pattern. The Istanbul children were faced with the problem of dividing nine nuts with another child. They could be generous (divide them 5-4 in favor of the other child), selfish (divide 5-4 in their favor), or equalitarian (give the examiner, for example, the extra nut). The equalitarian pattern was found to be most characteristic of ages 9 to 11, replacing the generosity of 6- to 8-year-olds and the selfishness of the younger child. No sex differences were found (Ugurel-Semin, 1952).

In a comparison of preadolescents with teen-agers, in which 712 Midwestern children were shown a short silent motion picture of a preadolescent boy in two socially approved and two socially disapproved behavior situations, the teen-agers showed much more conceptual development. The children were asked to write what they saw and give their opinions. These were analyzed for inferences (motivation) and concepts (accounting for discrepancy in the boy's behavior). Less than one-fourth of the 10-year-olds made any inferences as to causes of behavior, and only about 2 percent made any

conceptual statement. Again, there were no sex differences, and, in addition, no IQ differences (Gollin, 1958).

The earlier discussion of Ojemann's work, in contrast to this study, demonstrates the difference between "natural" development and training for thinking in causal terms.

Harrower examined the sequence of development postulated by Piaget. He compared lower-class with upper-class children, using stories involving punishment and cheating. He found that the order of development (from retribution to understanding) in the lower-class children was the same as that given by Piaget in his study of lower-class children (Piaget, 1932, Harrower, 1934).

One other study illustrates this development. Witryol (1950) asked equal groups of rural and urban boys and girls about their concepts of behavior of which teachers approved and disapproved. He reported that preadolescents agreed that teachers approved of courtesy, honesty, respect for others, and disapproved of converse behavior. Perhaps his most interesting finding, although he did not elaborate upon it, was that there was increase in stability of response with age. This may very well be related to those self-evaluative studies (see self-evaluation sections in various chapters) which show this same integrative phenomenon.

A second look at two of these researches, by Harrower and Uigurel-Semin, illustrates the role of culture in conjunction with maturation. Harrower found that the upper-class youngsters did not develop concepts at the same time as the lower-class; many already had advanced concepts. There were class differences in Istanbul, as well. The lower-class children were mostly equalitarian, sometimes generous, and less frequently selfish. One can hypothesize about the role of "learning to do with little" in the Istanbul lower-class home, or the pressure to be adult in the London upper-class home.

Children not only know what behavior is expected of them; they also know how teachers and peers perceive this behavior. Boys and girls both know that teachers view the behavior of boys as more socially unacceptable, generally, than that of girls. They recognize clearly that more boys get into trouble with teachers (Meyer and Thompson, 1956; Foshay *et al.*, 1954). This sex difference in school behavior shows aspects of behavior different from those shown in the studies cited earlier in this section. Mostly, it is aggressive be-

havior that triggers disapproval. The boys *know* teachers disapprove of aggression, but they continue to commit it. It could be, as Jones suggests, that "girls may be more submissive than boys and more influenced by what they think is expected of them by adult societies. Second, it seems that boys are more aggressive than girls" (Jones, 1954, pp. 797-798). Or is it, as Foshay believes, that "from the child's point of view, most aggression is counter-aggression" (Foshay *et al.*, 1954, p. 165)? In Chapter 13, we will discuss the importance during these years of concepts of appropriate age-sex behavior. Whatever the conclusion may be, it is obvious to researchers and teachers that boys place a much higher value than girls on socially disapproved behavior during preadolescence.

Adults become annoyed with children of this age because they do not seem to comprehend what might be called "follow-through." Children seem to think that to say they will do something is sufficient; action does not necessarily follow. People seeking services, such as repairs of household appliances, also voice the same complaint about the service companies which say that someone will come out, but nobody comes. This often irritates middle-class homeowners, who blame the poor service on everything from the family background of the worker to the politico-economic climate. The parent, however, is deprived of using such reasons against his own child. How can he blame it on family background? The teacher, laboriously using the most approved methods of "pupil-teacher" planning, cannot blame it on herself.

What is the answer as far as children are concerned? An action research program conducted in the Springfield, Missouri schools provides some clues about children's values about "follow-through." Foshay and his associates used anecdotal material of the unfinished-story type (similar to those used by Piaget, Harrower, Ojemann, etc.) in which the children were asked to finish the story in terms of what they would do. They found that (1) verbal participation in the classroom bears little relationship to the tendencies of individual children to follow through on classroom planning and (2) follow-through on classroom planning seems to be closely related to the human relationships among the children in the classroom (Foshay *et al.*, 1954, p. 100).

A possible answer to this lack of follow-through and the aggressive

behavior of boys is that children value most highly the respect, admiration, and acceptance of their peers. Those values which they perceive as being "peer values" are implemented by action; that behavior which they know, and of which adults approve, but does not lead to peer rewards, is not executed. The child, in his judgments and values, now acknowledges the primary power of his peer group. His behavior becomes a function of his peer situation, as he perceives it from moment to moment. It is in this situation that the discrepancy between *knowing* and *doing* lies. The preadolescent *knows* what is "right" and what he "should" do; however, he fails to do it when it conflicts with peer group pressure.

Summary and Implications

The moral ideas of preadolescents correspond to those of adults. However, preadolescents are still thinking about behavior, except in those cases where they have received special training, largely in external, nonmotivational terms. They know what adults expect even if they do not meet these expectations. They view aggression differently from adults, not always seeing it as bad, but sometimes seeing it as demanded by the situation. The discrepancy between boy and girl behavior is marked, and is symptomatic, as we shall see in the next chapter, of a fundamental concern of these children.

What do these ideas mean to the student of behavior and to parents and teachers? They suggest that we look at the situation in which socially disapproved behavior occurs and, at the same time, attempt to see what values are important to children. These ideas indicate that verbal explanations, a favorite "disciplinary" technique, may be comprehended by preadolescents but are not carried into action unless the total setting is favorable. They suggest that values in action *can* be taught by utilization of group processes and laboratory means, provided we understand the viewpoint of the children. Lastly, they indicate to the student of human behavior the tremendous need for careful research into both the concepts held by each generation of children and the processes by which concepts are developed and modified.

In our study of this period of development, we started by looking at the most easily observable factors, and those external forces operating upon the child. In this chapter, we have examined two im-

portant aspects of the child's self-system—his concepts of his world and his values. We will now focus, in the next chapter, upon those particular concepts which are central—his concepts of self as he continues his search for identity.

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The Continuing Search for Identity

Developing Sex-Role Identification

"Goodby to Oedipus" is the title of an article in *Harper's Magazine*, which describes the feelings of a mother as she watches preadolescent boys in action. It's a highly appropriate as well as clever title, because this is the time when boys say farewell to maternal and matriarchal ties and seek vigorous, rugged, self-sufficient maleness. To be a boy involves an all-out effort to disassociate oneself from any signs of female control or interest. To be a sissy is to be doomed. As one mother so aptly expresses it:

As early as preadolescence, boys have begun to sense that society is going to make demands on them as men which it will not make on their sisters as women. Without being able to articulate what those demands are to be, boys still feel the evidence of them; out of that sense comes their surging need for whatever will help them grow strong enough to meet their futures. They seek the company of men, without which they can never learn to become men themselves; then, because the pattern of their culture forces them to live more than ever before in the company of women, even more than before they need to find a strength and firmness in their mothers which will support their own need to grow strong. . . .

For me and mine, the end of the idyll is very much in view. He is on the turn now, like milk ready to curdle. His feet get longer and his shoulders broader every time I look at him; one day I will turn round to find that he has crossed the threshold of the mysterious cavern of adolescence, where, if I know what is good for both of us, I had better not try to follow him [Eustis, 1959, pp. 229-230].

Of particular concern to boys is the changing conception of maleness in the general culture. They wish to be male, but what does being male mean?

For the girls, the changing concepts of sex-role behavior also create difficulties. The girl's difficulties are different: she's not so sure she wishes to be female.

Thus, both boys and girls are faced with the task of identifying themselves in appropriate ways while the cultural concept of appropriateness is changing. We can see the effects of this in several studies. The games that children prefer, we would imagine, could be easily divided into "boy" and "girl" games. Research indicates that if this were once true, it is no longer so. Former male games, such as baseball and basketball, are now neuter. That is, children of both sexes in the fourth through sixth grades prefer these to other games. Boys tend to name fewer items which differentiate them from girls. There seems to be, at least in the games played, an extension of the female role into what was formerly exclusive male territory. "The masculine role appears to have become confined, yielding fewer widely acknowledged ways of seeing the self" (Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith, 1960, p. 169).

Another indication of a girl's "tomboy" trend can be found in studies using projective techniques. Brown used ambiguous photographs and asked children to identify them as either male or female. He found that boys expressed stronger preferences for the masculine role than girls did for the feminine role. Girls from 6 to 9 preferred the masculine, and even 10- and 11-year-olds had mixed reactions. He also reports the same reduction of male choice, saying, "Boys simply do not have the same freedom of choice as girls when it comes to sex-typed objects and activities" (Brown, 1958, p. 236). Girls can be boys (in dress and play) but boys can be only boys.

Are children aware of this? When children have been asked of whom they approve, it is clear that peers approve more of male behavior in boys than female behavior in girls. It is also evident that girls are faced with inconsistent role patterns: both the tomboy and the lady are part of the accepted feminine image.

American society complicates the difficulties of children in their search for identity, a search not confined to the United States. In Australia, Crane asked preadolescents whom they'd like to imitate.

The girls chose women whom they knew; the boys had a greater tendency to identify with male heroes in sports and fiction. Crane's study of their gangs disclosed that the boys were actively seeking identification with the male adult pattern (Crane, 1955).

The effort of children to be male or female does not take place without strain. Gray's study, using both social reputation and anxiety measures, found that in both boys and girls high sex-appropriate behavior was related to high anxiety. Since this was not expected of the boys, Gray hypothesized that "it is possible that striving to maintain a masculine role is, for the boys of this age group, stressful enough to be associated with manifest anxiety. Or one could argue contrariwise that only the boy who is secure in his masculine role is willing to admit to such unmanly characteristics" (Gray, 1957, p. 212). Or, perhaps the boy who must go "all out" to emphasize his masculinity is really not sure of it. Also, the increasing encroachment of girls upon his formerly all-male territory makes it harder for the boy to demonstrate his maleness, and this might arouse anxiety.

It is clear that the preadolescent period is not one of quiet acceptance of one's own sex. The obviously self-conscious peer grouping of boys with boys and girls with girls does not indicate that there is mutual disinterest. It indicates, perhaps, a heightened self-awareness and a seeking after models and support. Certainly, boys are more outspoken in their rejection of girls, but boys are also confronted with many female models and increasingly restricted avenues for self-expression.

Girls are not content to be girls in the conventional sense; they now feel they can be both girl and little-leaguer simultaneously. This trend is not confined to preadolescence, but is manifest later in the motorcycle gang, the women's softball team, and even family bowling.

This does not imply that the differences between the sexes is being eliminated or that girls are becoming less feminine. It means that the preadolescent girl can be girlish, can learn her sex role, can see herself as feminine, but will include in this some new activities and prerogatives.

Anyone watching a parade (be it the Fourth of July or Homecoming) with the vast abundance of baton-twirling majorettes of all ages can see that girls are learning feminine ways. Of course, this, too, shows the change. Bands formerly had only drum majors!

Preadolescents do perceive occupational choice along sex lines—

boys envision themselves as doctors, scientists, baseball players, engineers, and soldiers, whereas girls look forward to careers as teachers, nurses, secretaries, mothers and housewives, and airline hostesses (Witty *et al.*, 1960).

Children are quite aware of their sex roles and activities; self-reports and choices reflect their search for acceptable patterns of sex-role behavior. For boys and girls, it is farewell to both Oedipus and Electra.

Developing Interests and Aspirations

Recreational Interests

How do these busy, active preteen-agers spend their time? The school day, of course, consumes about six hours, leaving another seven or so for recreation and the routines of daily living. By studying how children spend their time, we can increase our understanding of what life means to them, what interests them. Interests compel us to spend our time in certain ways. These interests are aspects of our concepts of self; they reveal what we deem to be important. Children's interests are of concern to adults because they point out pathways for education and guidance. These interests can serve as springboards into the deep pool of the preadolescent self.

The *mass media* demand a large share of the attention of children. Parents sometimes have the feeling that all their children do is watch TV. This may be because the favorite viewing times are during the late afternoon and early evening, when one can turn the dial and see only programs for children.

Preadolescents spend about 20 hours a week in front of the television set. This seems to be the figure regardless of sex or geographic area. Boys and girls like to watch different programs (woe to the family with more than one child this age!). The boys prefer westerns and comedy programs such as the "Three Stooges"; the girls favor Shirley Temple (Witty *et al.*, 1960).

The *reading* interests of youngsters have been intensively studied over the years. Witty's questionnaire of Chicago children disclosed that they read outside of school only about one hour a week in contrast to the 20 hours of TV. Again, boys and girls differ, the girls preferring science fiction to the boys' choice of adventure.

The child's keen interest in science makes this subject one of the

top three choices across the country. Parents and teachers are well aware of the highly technical "space-age" vocabulary of children which makes the adult feel antiquated and ignorant. Mystery, adventure, and animal stories are also popular with youngsters.

A careful study of what children read about, ask about, and look up in books yields interesting data. Several thousand children were asked about their reading interests, but Rudman (1955) found little difference in interest among rural, urban, and metropolitan children. In connection with what children ask about, he found a strong interest in ethics, values, religion, and, with the approach of puberty, a dramatically increasing concern with personal problems.

Reading for reference is different from reading for recreation or for general knowledge. Rudman reports that reference reading in science rates highest. However, children look up materials different from what they want to read about or ask about. School assignments influence choice more than the child's own urge to explore. The differences between the sexes may be more indicative of the actual interests of children. Boys seek out more information about physical sciences and sports; girls lean toward social sciences, biography, and, strangely enough, mathematics.

Children's reading and TV watching seem to serve several functions: they provide opportunities for boys or girls to experience excitement vicariously; they broaden children's awareness of both the real and fictional world (30 percent of the children surveyed regarded TV as useful for schoolwork); and they allow boys and girls to move out of themselves and their immediate environments, both in time and space.

Active play dominates the rest of the children's time. Boys prefer more active pursuits, girls more sedentary ones. The group is the setting for this play, as we have previously noted in the chapter on the peer group.

One way of finding out how children spend their time, as a way of uncovering their interests, is to ask them to keep logs of themselves. This "dear diary" approach, when carefully done on an objective time basis rather than through subjective recall, yields valuable data. McCullough (1957) used this technique in the San Francisco Bay area with about 400 fifth-graders drawn from waterfront (lower-class), central (lower-middle), and hill (upper-middle and upper-class) homes. These children kept records of their out-of-school activities

over a 5-day period. Again, TV led the list in terms of time. Active sports were second for all groups, with work third.

Parents and alarmists lament the irresponsibility of youth. However these children were doing many household tasks. Of course, they may have been doing them under duress, but they spent many hours helping. Girls spent about half their time working and waterfront boys spent a third of their time as mothers' helpers by doing dishes, running errands, and the like. Even hill boys did laundry, although this may have consisted in putting a load in the automatic washer-dryer. Work need not necessarily reflect interest, but it does reflect both the changing concept of sex roles and the sense of obligation to the family held by these youngsters.

One interesting class difference was shown: hill boys engaged in many more sociable and eventful activities, central boys were most sedentary—playing games was the high activity for them—and waterfront boys were their mothers' helpers. This may be because their mothers worked or needed their services more. Girls reported a wider variety of activities, thus, again suggesting the diminution of choice open to boys.

Expressed Interests

A third technique, in addition to the specific questionnaire and the log for gathering data on interests, is the generalized interest inventory. This elicits information about the range of children's concerns. Instead of asking what children did, Amatora (1960) asked, "What are three of your greatest interests, in order of importance to you?" She grouped the responses, from a small sample of fourth-graders from all over the United States, and reported that approximately half of them named possession of objects first, followed by the "good life," pets, and vocation (with more boys than girls choosing the last item). In eighth and ninth position were school and education; travel, relatives, and money were fifth, sixth, and seventh, respectively. This corresponds to other studies which show that children regard school as just part of the daily scenery.

Kauffmann (1955) attempted to find a relationship between expressed interests and organismic age, socioeconomic status and race membership in about 2,000 Illinois children. He used an interest inventory and found no relationship with purely chronological age, as we would expect. He did find that children in the fourth through

eighth grades were strongly concerned about their bodies. Developmentally, he found a trend toward a greater choice of games requiring higher levels of organization with increasing age. This can be seen as further support for the concept of development as a process whereby the organism moves to higher and higher levels of complexity.

A sentence-completions instrument, which required the children to finish such sentences as "I wish I were . . ." and "I wish my mother (or father or teacher) would . . .," was used by Cobb to overcome the limitations he felt were involved in the too-open type inventory, such as the one Amatora used. Cobb's results revealed both age and sex differences. He concluded that "there are highly significant sex differences within the general similarity, boys' wishes exceeding those of girls in the direction of personal achievement and self aggrandizement, girls' exceeding boys' in the direction of social and family relations and personal characteristics. . . . There are also clear developmental differences, with a peak of concern about identity, family, possessions, living situation and travel in the elementary grades (4-5-6)" (Cobb, 1954, p. 170).

Occupational Interests

SELF-FACTORS. It should not be assumed that preadolescents' vocational interests are at all indicative of actual future vocational choices. The "when I grow up I want to be a fireman" refrain of the 6-year-old still finds its echo in the unrealistic choices of the child aged 9 to 12. Parents or teachers should not attempt to use vocational interest inventory results for individual counseling or educational guidance.

Vocational interest inventories do serve a useful research purpose, for they help us see how vocational choice develops. They can be used by the skilled, perceptive investigator in the exploration of the child's general field of interests.

A perceptive application of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank may be found in Tyler's (1955) study. She had fourth-graders complete the Strong. She did not use the occupational keys (in which a person's interests are compared to the interests of persons in a particular profession) because of their inappropriateness at this age level. She analyzed the results by use of statistical procedures which enabled her to detect the clusters or groupings of interests held by

these preadolescents. This technique of factor analysis yielded several patterns of interests.

Tyler found that children liked many more things than they either disliked or were indifferent to. They are still very open, at this age, to wide choice, and development involves not the addition of choices but their diminution.

A second finding, "That there is no sort of polarity about these likes and dislikes" (Tyler, 1955, p. 36), has relevance for adults. We often hear parents and other adults talk in either-or terms about both ability and interest. The layman's view is that if a child isn't interested or can't do academic work, he should do manual work. Tyler's study refutes this "common sense" approach. There is no such neat dichotomy for the preadolescent.

Her main conclusion, is that the clusters "look more like general attitudes toward the world and the role one is playing in it. . . . The suggestion that general attitudes may take precedence over experience with specific activities in organizing one's interests may be the most important outcome of this research" (Tyler, 1955, p. 38). The findings on sex differences may be seen as fitting into this category.

In general, children's choices are differentiated on the basis of their self-concepts. The importance to the child of his conception of masculinity-femininity can thus be seen as more pervasive than even Freud thought. This is not a latency period in the sense that interest in one's own sex identification and heterosexual concerns are absent. It is a stable, preadolescent establishment and acceptance of one's sex. Choices of vocations and interests are heavily involved with sexually appropriate symbols. Not physical sex, but cultural identification is significant.

Cultural factors, as we would expect, are evident in the vocational interests of boys and girls. A comparison of English with American youngsters revealed a very great similarity of interest patterns. The main difference lay in the fact that English children listed more dislikes than their American cousins (Tyler, 1956). The reasons for this have not yet been investigated.

When we turn to a non-Western society which has been exposed to American influence we find some interesting differences. Goodman used a "topic essay" technique in which children wrote on "What I want to be when I grow up, and why."

One of the most striking differences is in the area of politics.

"... American boys are remarkably indifferent to politics and public office, while Japanese boys in comparatively large proportion [34 percent in grades five to eight to 4½ percent of Americans] aim toward careers in diplomacy, the Diet, as ministers of state or even prime minister, and—suggesting that the democratic concept has taken hold with a vengeance—one small boy aspires to be Emperor!" (Goodman, 1957, p. 982). For girls, the pattern is similar.

Another evidence of the effect of cultural experience is the difference in outlook toward military careers. In Japan, "there is resounding silence, and never so much as a passing mention of the military" (Goodman, 1957, p. 983). At the same time, about 8 percent of American boys choose this career, and give patriotic reasons for so doing. There are many other differences in choice of business, professions, religious careers (virtually none for the Japanese), but all add up to over-all cultural differences in spite of the degree of American cultural influence. Goodman concludes:

American children exhibit strong inclinations suggesting such themes as may be identified by the labels scientific-technical, urban-sophisticate, pragmatic-humanistic, and individualistic. The inclinations of Japanese children suggest themes which we might label commercial, sentimental-humanistic, and others-oriented.

We are impressed especially with the degree to which individualism—the "self-orientation" attitude as we have preferred to put it—is apparent in the statements from American children as contrasted with the Japanese. . . . American culture, with all its emphasis upon the autonomy of the individual and his rights with respect to self-expression, self-fulfillment, and self-satisfaction, finds unmistakable expression among the children of this study. Among the Japanese children there is expressed with equal clarity features repeatedly commented upon by observers of Japanese culture past and present, rural and urban, i.e., the Japanese individual does not think of himself as autonomous, and it is his duties and obligations rather than his rights which are stressed; his attention is deflected away from self and toward family, community, and the wider society [Goodman, 1957, pp. 997-998].

To summarize, vocational interests, like all other interest patterns of preadolescents, are influenced by the forces of both the culture and the self interacting within the individual child. Studies of such interests show that children are still open to much change, that vocational patterns are not fixed, and that the children's vocational interest patterns mirror the adult world.

Self-Conceptualizing

How does the preadolescent conceive of himself? We have been able, to some degree, to infer his self-concepts by examining his peer groups, his behavior, and his expressed interests. Now we will look at the data which bears directly on self-concept. What do children say when asked to define themselves? How do they see their bodies? What effect does self-concept of ability have upon school work?

Body Image

Tables 13.1 and 13.2 summarize Jersild's (1952) study of children's expressed evaluations of themselves through unstructured compositions. These tables show that a substantial percentage of children in the upper grades of elementary school are sufficiently concerned with their bodies to express both positive and negative feelings about them. For example, more fifth-grade girls commented favorably on their physical characteristics than on any other category, and only social relationships had a higher percentage for sixth-grade girls. For boys, a combination of the categories of athletic ability and physical characteristics indicates bodily preoccupation.

The major changes in physical development (growth spurt, puberty) take place primarily in the junior high school years. Of course, some children, particularly girls, have begun to develop secondary sex characteristics in the fifth and sixth grade. Jersild's data, the most comprehensive we have at this time, shows that the greatest concern with one's body (both positive and negative) comes after the elementary school years.

There is some evidence (Fisher and Fisher, 1959) to suggest that the preadolescent's idea of his body is still unclear, and that the major change in his view of himself comes with adolescence.

We can say that most children accept their bodies but do not single them out for special concern during preadolescence. We might hypothesize that those who do are either early or late maturers, or differ significantly in some way (obesity, illness) from their peers.

Unfortunately, most body image research has not been conducted on children. This is a relatively unexplored field, but one well worth investigating. In the next chapter we shall see the importance of

Table 13.1

Selected Percentages of Boys and Girls in Main Population of 2,893 Who
About Myself^a

CATEGORY	ELEMENTARY GRADES					
	4		5		6	
	B	G	B	G	B	G
N220	206	147	142	171	172	
I. Physical characteristics	15	19	22	30	12	30
D. Features of face and head	10	14	14	25	8	23
II. Clothing and grooming	16	27	12	26	12	28
A. Clothes	13	22	5	15	8	19
VI. Home and family	18	24	7	13	14	16
B. Own home behavior	13	17	4	11	7	9
VIII. Recreation (Enjoyment of)	15	10	7	4	18	10
B. Play and sports	10	6	5	2	11	7
IX. Ability in sports, play	13	9	20	6	24	9
X. School	21	33	13	17	23	21
G. Ability in school work	10	21	5	8	13	15
XII. Special talents	14	11	14	12	16	20
XIII. Just me, myself	11	6	7	5	15	9
XIIIx. Personality, character	23	19	20	13	24	28
B. Inner resources	18	12	14	8	17	21
XIV. Social attitudes and relationships	20	22	22	29	22	38
A. Friendships, social activities	0	2	3	6	4	11
B. Attitudes of others toward me	2	3	1	3	1	10
C. My attitude toward others	17	17	20	23	17	24

^a When traits having a negative connotation are named (such as inferiority feelings), the intended meaning is that the person does not have the trait in question, or does not have it to a disturbing degree, or has overcome it, or is in the process of overcoming it.

NOTE: Table 13.1 includes only those items reported by over 10 percent of either elementary boys or girls. The category headings in the tables are much abbreviated, and readers interested in a fuller exposition of the categories

Mentioned Items in Various Categories in Reporting "What I Like

B	G	7			8			9			HIGH SCHOOL GRADES					
		B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	B	G	B	G	B	G
		JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL						10		11		12				
96	77	134	151	170	204			151	157	112	124	137	122			
14	13	29	42	23	35			25	37	17	19	15	20			
6	13	13	35	11	25			9	26	4	12	4	14			
14	12	13	25	13	23			17	11	10	15	9	6			
11	8	7	17	6	11			13	6	5	10	5	4			
11	9	13	11	7	7			5	6	4	10	4	5			
8	5	8	8	5	4			3	1	4	5	1	2			
13	5	15	5	7	3			8	5	8	6	4	3			
12	3	11	5	5	2			3	3	5	5	3	2			
13	4	16	7	10	5			17	5	11	6	8	2			
19	29	21	27	15	12			11	8	12	6	9	9			
9	12	13	15	5	8			5	5	5	5	5	5			
8	13	16	18	8	11			12	11	14	14	13	12			
9	8	14	13	11	10			21	27	19	9	17	11			
37	35	35	36	29	39			36	38	31	30	35	45			
26	26	27	27	18	21			15	19	23	24	23	15			
38	51	37	50	34	52			42	43	51	46	42	61			
11	16	12	19	9	27			17	22	28	23	23	30			
5	7	4	7	5	8			8	4	6	10	5	11			
26	38	21	30	18	28			19	18	21	27	17	37			

should consult pages 135-141 in the original study. It should be noted that all responses specifically mentioning school were placed under category X, even though they refer to character traits which otherwise might fall under another heading.

SOURCE: Adapted from Table 1 in *In Search of Self*, A. T. Jersild, 1952, Teachers College, Columbia University. Used by permission.

Table 13.2

Selected Percentages of Boys and Girls in Main Population of 2,893 Who
About Myself^a

CATEGORY	ELEMENTARY GRADES					
	4		5		6	
	B N220	G 206	B 147	G 142	B 171	G 172
I. Physical characteristics	11	16	17	30	17	41
B. Size, weight	4	2	4	5	10	9
D. Features of face and head	6	11	10	20	6	20
II. Clothing and grooming	4	10	7	5	4	9
VI. Home and family	17	19	9	22	11	21
B. Own home behavior	13	12	7	15	8	13
IX. Ability in sports, play	4	4	7	1	10	6
X. School	22	22	18	23	32	27
E. Study habits, industry, perseverance	5	4	4	8	11	6
G. Ability in school work	14	15	11	13	17	20
XII. Special talents	9	10	5	4	9	15
XIIIx. Personality, character	37	38	37	32	44	48
A. Moral character	10	4	5	3	8	3
B. Inner resources	16	17	20	14	29	19
E. Emotional tendencies	16	21	17	18	18	32
1. Poise, control	8	6	7	4	5	9
2. Inferiority feelings	0	1	1	1	1	3
3. Fears	0	0	1	1	1	6
4. Temper	6	11	7	6	8	16
XIV. Social attitudes and relationships	16	14	15	18	15	20
C. My attitude toward others	11	10	11	18	12	16

^a Most of the categories in this table are stated positively, as in Table 13.1. In most instances, the negative meaning is intended—lacking the characteristic, or having too much or too little of it.

NOTE: Table 13.2 includes only those items reported by over 10 percent of either elementary boys or girls. The category headings in the tables are much abbreviated, and readers interested in a fuller exposition of the cate-

Mentioned Items in Various Categories in Reporting "What I Dislike

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL						HIGH SCHOOL GRADES					
7		8		9		10		11		12	
B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
96	77	134	151	170	204	151	157	112	124	137	122
17	26	24	48	32	53	27	44	13	32	10	30
8	9	10	15	19	17	11	18	8	12	5	8
4	12	8	26	12	35	13	24	4	11	3	11
2	8	4	7	3	10	1	3	3	2	4	2
8	10	7	14	11	11	7	8	4	15	6	6
4	4	5	7	8	6	6	7	3	10	4	3
3	1	7	5	7	3	5	2	7	0	5	0
31	27	26	34	36	24	25	17	27	15	15	23
11	9	4	11	16	10	9	3	11	6	5	9
14	13	18	22	14	9	11	10	16	6	8	10
4	10	7	11	2	6	5	7	5	10	5	6
53	43	51	57	55	65	44	55	51	67	58	72
7	7	2	4	5	5	5	5	4	2	3	2
30	25	24	26	29	26	22	24	28	24	35	32
26	29	37	44	28	50	28	39	32	57	26	51
11	18	12	15	6	15	9	9	11	10	6	8
2	4	3	5	1	8	3	6	9	12	6	18
2	1	7	14	5	11	7	11	4	17	2	11
11	12	17	19	16	27	12	20	9	30	16	23
13	22	22	28	16	26	25	25	18	30	24	25
10	17	15	18	8	17	9	16	13	19	13	18

gories should consult pages 135-141 in the original study. It should be noted that all responses specifically mentioning school were placed under category X, even though they refer to character traits which otherwise might fall under another heading.

SOURCE: Adapted from Table 2 in *In Search of Self*, A. T. Jersild, 1952 Teachers College, Columbia University. Used by permission.

maturity differences to the early adolescent. We need comparable data on earlier periods.

Self-Definition

Perkins (1958), using the Jersild categories, constructed a Q-sort, a series of statements which the child can evaluate as being either representative or unrepresentative of himself. The child places these statements along a continuum from most to least, and is forced to place a certain number of items at each location so that the arrangement of items resembles the normal bell-shaped curve. This enables the researcher to compare, by means of correlation, the child's "sort" or distribution with other distributions. Perkins asked fourth- and sixth-grade children to sort the cards for self and for ideal self.

He found that the most representative item was "I like my parents." The most rejected items were: "(1) I do not like animals, (2) I have a brother or sister that I don't like, (3) I have poor health, (4) I am weak, (5) I am unpopular" (Perkins, 1958, p. 83). His data show that boys and girls generally feel confident of scholastic ability, are happy or at least optimistic, are concerned about appearance (boys wishing to be taller, girls wishing to be good-looking).

Perkins found that self-conceptualizing could be seen as related to development as well as to experience. He reports (Perkins, 1958) that girls have a higher correlation between self and ideal self than do boys and that such correlation becomes greater with time.

Jersild's data (see Tables 13.1 and 13.2) tends to support that of Perkins. A continuing research in process by Gordon and Spears, using a 5-point rating scale based upon the Jersild categories, seems, at this point, to further substantiate these findings. Gordon and Spears have discovered that children rate themselves high on scholastic ability and seek peer acceptance (particularly from their own sex). Further, their results suggest that there is a developmental pattern to the individual's own degree of variation between his average and specific self-perceptions. That is, his view of self is more variable in some periods of life than in others. Preadolescence appears to be one of the more stable periods, characterized by correlation among ratings in various categories such as the physical, social, and scholastic phases of his life. Even though the preadolescent differentiates, there is a high degree of agreement between areas of his self-reports.

How much faith can be placed in children's reports about themselves? In addition to the studies cited above, Lipsitt (1958) and Bruce (1957) also used self-reporting instruments with children. Both report them to be reliable. Reliability means that the child will report on himself consistently from time to time, if the time gap is not too long. The question of *accuracy* still remains. Both Lipsitt and Bruce found a high relationship between self-report and the Children's Manifest Anxiety Scale, an adaptation of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory. This means that the way the children completed the self-report corresponded with the data on the objective, personality test. If this is generally true, self-reports are fairly accurate.

On the other hand, Perkins (1958) reports no correlation between the increasing agreement between self, ideal self, and school achievement.

A study by Gordon and Wood (1961) of 150 fifth- and sixth-grade children in a metropolitan Florida school showed that neither teachers nor pupils were accurate in predicting pupil performance (rank in class) on standardized scholastic achievement tests. There was, however, agreement (at the .01 level of significance) between teacher and pupil on the nature of the error. That is, when one overestimated, the other was likely to overestimate. Also, nearly equal numbers of pupils either overestimated or underestimated themselves. The pupils also evaluated themselves on a rating scale of attitudes toward school. Those who saw themselves as favorably disposed toward school were most likely to overestimate their achievement; those least favorable, to underestimate it. Very few were accurate. Since this study was conducted by a teacher in her own school, the question of the degree of threat is significant. Do children err more in estimation under threat? Self-concept theory and level-of-aspiration studies would suggest that they do.

In an attempt to measure accuracy with threat removed, Brandt presented sixth and eleventh grade pupils with the opportunity to increase scientific knowledge. He also used carefully designed, very specific directions and tried to create a comfortable "climate." His subjects rated themselves on academic, physical, and social abilities. He reports:

No simple pattern emerged regarding accuracy of self-estimate. . . . Some students were highly accurate in assessing their abilities in all six

areas. Other students were more consistent in their accuracy, from task to task, yet tended to be inaccurate on the average. Others tended to be consistently accurate on four self-estimates, but inaccurate on the other two. Almost every conceivable pattern of accuracy of self-estimate prevailed. Although there was a tendency for students to differ in a general sense with respect to accuracy of self-estimate, there was also a tendency among the majority of students (inconsistent group) for some area of the self-concept to be more sharply differentiated than other areas. With a particular student, spelling and arithmetic might have been more sharply differentiated than other assessment areas; with another student, baseball-throwing and grip strength [Brandt, 1958, p. 77].

Sears (1960) found some interesting differences between boys and girls in respect to both level of self-esteem and degree of differentiation. She found that girls' self-reports on mental ability were highly inaccurate and that they differentiated less than boys. We may speculate that ability to differentiate, to look at one's self and see differences within the self, is related to degree of comfort one has with one's self.

This variation of estimate within the individual child seems to exist in all these studies. It suggests a developmental trend away from early childhood's global, unclear, undifferentiated image of self. Preadolescence seems to be the stage in-between this and the reorganization and reintegration of self in adolescence. What we may have is a pattern of movement from a global view ("I'm a good boy") through the preadolescent differentiated view ("I'm good at sports, but I'm not good in arithmetic, and I don't think much about how I am over-all") to the mature position ("I see myself as generally adequate, but I recognize differential abilities within myself"). This is, of course, speculative in terms of what we know, but would be consistent with general developmental theory.

We must, therefore, consider the age, sex, and social situation in any attempt to use individual self-reports as predictive devices at this stage of our knowledge. This does not reduce the utility of such techniques. They do reveal how children perceive the way they should present themselves. Further, such techniques show the areas of interest and concern of children. For example, Tables 13.1 and 13.2 illustrate that preadolescents make many more differential, specific comments about themselves than they do about themselves as an integrated totality ("Just me, myself").

Comparative studies indicate that adults are not very good at

ascertaining how children see themselves. The discrepancy between the adult view of the child and the child's report on himself is large, and these techniques reveal the extent of this important perceptual difference.

Self-definition of preadolescents has been analyzed by projective techniques. Bobroff used TAT (Thematic Apperception Test) protocols to test both the psychoanalytic and the Piaget theories of ego-development. He concluded that there is a development from the 10-year-old stage, in which "curbs upon the child's behavior are still in large part foisted by the existence of external sanctions. Concomitantly, however, the child is developing a set of his own, individual, inner controls" to the 12-year-old stage during which "the child is in the process of developing a more mature inner control system through internal commitment to a hierarchy of values. While the child recognizes the (often primary) importance of his own point of view, he tries to understand adult attitudes and opinions" (Bobroff, 1960, pp. 333-336).

This would correspond to the increasing internal consistency found in the self-report researches. The older the preadolescent, the more integrated he has become and the more clearly he sees himself.

Self-Concept and Performance

Our theoretical position is that the way one views himself is a significant variable in his performance. To date, research evidence is relatively scarce. What has been done tends to substantiate this position.

For example, Walsh (1956) used doll-play equipment to see whether bright boys with learning difficulties defined themselves differently from those who were achieving adequately. She concluded that low-achievers perceived themselves as less free to pursue their own interests, to express their feelings, and to respond adequately to their environment. All three conclusions might be generalized into a single statement: low-achievers perceive themselves as more constricted in their communications with their world.

Another approach to the relationship between self and performance was used by Baldwin and Levin (1958) and by Baldwin (1959). Adults assume that children wish to get up in the front of the room and perform. Teachers use this as a reward; parents "show off" their children to company. Baldwin's work demonstrates that most chil-

dren show aversion to such performances. If they had their way, they'd rather not exhibit themselves. There is also a relationship between their success experiences, the composition of the audience, and their willingness to go to the head of the class. "Children want to be less visible to a higher status audience than to one of their classmates or younger children" (Levin and Baldwin, 1958, p. 377), and they are more willing to be visible after success, especially if success follows failure.

Children who are anxious about themselves, regardless of whether this anxiety is "real" in the eyes of the outsider, reflect this anxiety in their approach to the world. Their perceptions become more rigid and more constricted (Smock, 1958). They just do not see what others see.

Summary

In this chapter, we have examined not only research findings but also have stressed the techniques used to discover children's concepts of self.

Four major procedures, each of which offer data on various aspects of self-development, have been used. First, observation and inference from behavior, a technique used on children from infancy, continues to be a constructive approach. Second, projective techniques, such as the TAT, Rorschach, and various sentence-completion devices, by which the researcher infers self-concept from test data, offer avenues to the self. Third, various "objective" tests, such as vocational interest blanks and personality scales, have been utilized. Fourth, many self-reporting devices become operative during the preadolescent period because of the increased language development and reading and writing skills. In effect, this approach requires the child to state his own picture of self.

In our study of adolescents, we shall see that these same four basic approaches will apply. Devices may differ in sophistication, but not in type. Although we perhaps tend to be concerned only with results, the student of human behavior must understand the procedures by which results are obtained. Only then can he accurately assess their merit and draw practical implications from them.

What can we conclude concerning the results of these various studies? First, we need to learn much more about the relationship

between self-concept and achievement during childhood. Second, we can conclude that there is a relationship, and that it seems to follow a pattern of experience → reinforcing experience → concept → seeking experience. Third, it is clear that preadolescents do consciously evaluate themselves and that their evaluations are influential in their behavior. Their evaluations are related to activities more than to feelings and are related more to specifics than to over-all estimates of self. Fourth, we can conclude that we have only begun to scratch the surface of the preadolescent's private world. We know very little about his inner life. We also know that parents and teachers are poor judges of the conceptual world of the child. In large measure, particularly in the realm of the self-concept, these are still the unknown years. On the positive side, we are beginning to learn how to look for self-concept data, and we can expect rapid gains in our knowledge. Fifth, self-conceptualizing is a developmental process. There is a movement toward a more stable image of self at the end of preadolescence. The child generally has a positive image and, perhaps, even a more optimistic view than is otherwise warranted. He seems to have reached a plateau somewhat comparable to the physical growth plateau just before the spurt.

The preadolescent holds many concepts, arranged in a hierarchy, even though the whole system is not a highly integrated one. He has tested himself against his world and found the results good. His greatest concerns are for personal acceptance by his peers and for achievement. He is striving "onward and upward." He does not look back upon his past and does not hesitate to approach his future. He comes bounding into adolescence.

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Part Five

Metamorphosis: A Transactional View of Adolescence

The cultural anthropologist, exploring the customs of societies around the world, speaks of "rites of passage," during which the boy becomes a man, and the girl becomes a woman in the eyes of the tribe or nation. In America, for example, the Jewish boy of 13 mounts to the altar, is permitted to pray over the Torah, and gives a speech which says, in effect, "Today I am a man." He may be a man in his ritual life, but he is far from being a man in all other areas of his daily life. He may make his own peace with his God, but Mom still gets him up in the morning to go to school, his teachers still control that portion of his existence, Dad still controls the allowance, and the law says he's too young to drive, drink, or marry.

In American society, these rites of passage consume not a single instant, or a few days' celebration, but the several years which constitute the teens. There is no one time in which the child becomes a man. We label this nebulous period of growth "adolescence."

When does it begin? How long does it last? When does it end? For these questions we have only the classical answer: it depends upon the individual. Some authorities include the years from 10 to 20, some use puberty (a most indefinite time in boys) as the starting point. For our purposes, and we recognize the artificiality of the limits, the junior high school years will be considered as early adolescence and the senior high school as late adolescence.

Throughout these next two sections, *Metamorphosis* and *Becoming Adult*, we will see that the principle of individual differences in growth and development, clearly perceived in early growth stages, becomes even more central to understanding behavior. Although

school epochs, such as junior and senior high, are being used as rough limits, many youngsters are early adolescents in fifth and sixth grade, whereas others are not through the puberal growth spurt in senior high. With this limitation always in mind, we can talk about early or late adolescence.

Adolescence is not merely a period of achieving one's final height, or achieving sexual maturity. Adolescence cannot be defined in physical terms, or purely in cultural terms. In adolescence, the child experiences a series of events some of which are initiated by his own body, some initiated by the people who surround him, and some initiated by his own self-system.

The period can be seen as one in which the youngster undergoes a concurrent series of "agonizing reappraisals" of himself, his immediate interpersonal world, and his view of the world at large. Each of these reappraisals creates a period of instability at the end of which a more integrated plateau is attained. At the end of adolescence, a new image of self-as-adult has been evolved. When this occurs, regardless of chronological age, the metamorphosis from child to man or woman is completed.

One of the reappraisals, of course, centers around one's own body. The adolescent's body is his fundamental base line. When he deviates from his peers, or fails to meet his own idealized hopes, his self-concept is affected, and his generalized self-image becomes an adverse one. We shall, therefore, explore the physical changes and their meaning to the early adolescent as our first step in Chapter 14.

As Lewin so aptly stated, "one can view adolescence as a change in group-belongingness. The individual has been considered by himself and by others as a child. Now he does not wish to be treated as such" (Lewin, 1960, p. 33). The second reappraisal requires of the adolescent that he shift his view of himself and his parents. Previously, even with his preadolescent peer activity, he perceived his parents as powerful people. Now he must see them more clearly; he must see that they cannot remain this powerful if he is to grow. For many youngsters, this change of anchorage point from parent to self creates guilt. They equate moving away from parent with loving the parent less. Unfortunately, many parents see it this way, too. They create a situation in which the youngster is forced to rebel or submit, in which it becomes virtually impossible for the adolescent to love but not surrender.

Included in this shift, or alteration of the frame of reference, is

the need to develop inner controls. The child cannot safely give up the external control of the parent unless he has, within himself, the controls or morality to function in a modern society. The third area of reappraisal, therefore, is in the area of values and relationships with others.

These three factors—changing body, changing parent-child relations, and changing values—all work together to create instability. They all force the child to shift from the known position of child to the unknown position of adult. Further, they cause him to give up a degree of reliability and predictability about himself which he has painstakingly learned. He has accumulated roughly 12 years of experience in behaving in certain patterns and eliciting certain responses. Now, these behaviors bring new responses, and inner feelings create the need for new behaviors. For example, in as simple an act as sitting down at the table the adolescent may now find that he knocks things flying. He finds that physical contact with the girl next door in a rough and tumble game, once pleasurable for the sheer sport (football, for instance) now arouses erotic feelings. He is in literally a new world, one which has impinged upon his awareness gradually but unceasingly.

Erikson (1954) characterizes adolescence, therefore, as a period fraught with the danger of role diffusion as youth seeks identity. He says adolescents "are now primarily concerned . . . with the question of how to connect the roles and skills cultivated earlier with the occupational prototypes of the day. In their search for a new sense of continuity and sameness, adolescents have to refight many battles of earlier years . . ." (Erikson, 1954, p. 217). The 13-year-old thus occasionally resembles the 3-year-old in the way he relates to authority. He must reappraise his sense of identity.

A continuing task, carried over from preadolescence, is his search for identification with the appropriate sex role. This is heightened, however, in adolescence by the hormonal changes which create genital sexual strivings. It is, of course, inseparable from the search for inner controls and the new look at parents. The task is now in a new setting. Formerly, Dad approved when Son displayed identification through mimicry; now Dad (and Mom) are concerned about how fast and how far Junior goes in his attempts to be a man.

In this ambiguous and ambivalent position, the youngster becomes what has been labeled a "marginal" person. He doesn't belong to the child world; he has not yet been admitted to the adult world. "Char-

acteristic symptoms of behavior of the marginal man are emotional instability and sensitivity. They tend to unbalanced behavior, to either boisterousness or shyness, exhibiting too much tension, and a frequent shift between extremes of contradictory behavior. . . .

"To some extent behavior symptomatic of the marginal man can be found in the adolescent. He too is oversensitive, easily shifted from one extreme to the other, and particularly sensitive to the shortcomings of his younger fellows" (Lewin, 1960, p. 41).

We saw in earlier chapters that the vocational aspirations of children are highly unrealistic. Their image of future time is vague and autistic. They live essentially in the present. One of the changes in adolescence is the widening of perception to include future time. Both vocational and educational planning shift from a position of unawareness to a much more central place in the adolescent's perceptual world. He begins to examine himself from a new perspective, that of his abilities to make a living. What the vocational counselor calls the "world of work" becomes a part of the adolescent's world. The inclusion of future along with past and present in his perceptual scheme and in his self-system, represents a major step toward adulthood. His views of his ability are important in this choice for the future, and those who work with adolescents need to understand the self-factors in vocational and educational choice. Chapters 15 and 17 will discuss this aspect in the junior and senior high school.

In general, the adolescent period is one in which the child redefines himself, discovers new aspects of himself, modifies previously held self-images and emerges with a new sense of identity. The central problem of the adolescent is thus his self.

We turn now to a more detailed view of how the adolescent meets and solves this problem. First, we will explore the bodily changes and the changing situational field, and then we shall focus on the adolescent's changing view of himself.

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Coming of Age Physically

External Physical Changes

The most visible signs of adolescence are the changes in height, weight, and body proportions.

Growth throughout adolescence is asynchronous. That is, different organ systems and body parts do not keep pace with each other. Whatever awkwardness there is in adolescence may be attributed to this.

The order in which changes occur are fairly well established, although individuals may vary in this respect as well as in the actual time of occurrence. Tables 14.1 and 14.2 list the characteristic time of appearance of sexual characteristics. Even a quick glance at these tables shows the faster maturity rate of girls. For instance, pubic hair appears about two years earlier, and most other indices show up at least a year sooner in girls than in boys.

Growth Spurt

The adolescent growth spurt, in which children seem literally to outgrow their clothes right before their parents' eyes, also covers a period of years. The spread between early and late maturers, depicted in tabular form in Chapters 5, 10, and 11, becomes even more pronounced during this spurt (see Tables 14.3 and 14.4). Stoltz and Stoltz, reporting on the boys in the Adolescent Growth Study, give the following times for the *onset* of the puberal growth period for height: from 10.40 years to 15.75 years, with the average at 12.88

TABLE 14.1**Time of Appearance of Sexual Characteristics in American Girls**

Pelvis	Female contour assumed and fat deposition begins at 8-10 years.
Breasts	First hypertrophy or budding, 9-11 years. Further enlargement and pigmentation of nipples, 12-13 years.
Vagina	Histologic maturity, 16-18 years. Secretion begins and glycogen content of epithelium increases with change in cell type, 11-14 years.
Pubic hair	Initial appearance, 10-12 years. Abundant and curly, 11-15 years.
Axillary hair	Initial appearance, 12-14 years.
Acne	Varies considerably, 12-16 years.

SOURCE: Reprinted from *Growth and Development of Children*, 3rd ed., E. H. Watson and G. H. Lowrey, 1958, Yearbook Publishers, p. 241. Used by permission.

TABLE 14.2**Time of Appearance of Sexual Characteristics in American Boys**

Breasts	Some hypertrophy often assuming a firm nodularity, 12-14 years.
Testes and penis	Disappearance of hypertrophy, 14-17 years. Increase in size begins, 10-12 years.
Pubic hair	Rapid growth, 12-15 years. Initial appearance, 12-14 years. Abundant and curly, 13-16 years.
Axillary hair	Initial appearance, 13-16 years.
Facial and body hair	Initial appearance, 15-17 years.
Acne	Varies considerably, 14-18 years.
Mature sperm	Average, about 14-16 years.

SOURCE: Reprinted from *Growth and Development of Children*, 3rd ed., E. H. Watson and G. H. Lowrey, 1958, Yearbook Publishers, p. 241. Used by permission.

TABLE 14.3

Height Gains, Ages 13-18

Age	Boys		Girls	
	10 Percentile	90 Percentile	10 Percentile	90 Percentile
13	57.75	65	58.75	65
13½	58.75	66.5	59.5	65.25
14	60	68	60.25	65.75
14½	61	68.75	60.75	66
15	62	69.5	61	66.25
15½	63	70.25	61.25	66.5
16	64	70.75	61.5	66.5
16½	64.5	71	61.5	66.5
17	65.25	71.5	61.5	66.75
17½	65.25	71.5	61.5	66.75
18	65.5	71.75	61.5	66.75

SOURCE: Combined from Tables 9A-B in *Growth and Development of Children*, E. H. Watson and G. H. Lowrey, 1958, Yearbook Publishers. Used by permission.

TABLE 14.4

Weight Gains, Ages 13-18

Age	Boys		Girls	
	10 Percentile	90 Percentile	10 Percentile	90 Percentile
13	77	123.25	80	124.5
13½	82.25	130	85.5	129
14	87.25	137	91	133.25
14½	93.25	142.5	94.25	135.75
15	99.5	147.75	97.5	138
15½	105.25	153.5	99.25	139.5
16	111	157.25	101	141
16½	114.25	161	102	142.25
17	117.5	164.5	102.75	143.25
17½	118.75	166.75	103.25	144
18	120	169	103.5	144.5

SOURCE: Combined from Tables 9A-B in *Growth and Development of Children*, E. H. Watson and G. H. Lowrey, 1958, Yearbook Publishers. Used by permission.

years. The *termination* occurs between 13.10 years and 17.50 years, with the average at 15.33. If one looks at speed of growth, the apex of velocity takes place as early as 11.90 years and as late as 16.65 years, with the mean at 13.99 (Stoltz and Stoltz, 1951, p. 69). Thus, two junior high boys, both 13 years of age, can be about five years apart in this particular phase of maturity.

Body Build

Body proportions, especially the stem (head and trunk): leg ratio is greatly modified in the adolescent years. In general, the stem grows less than the leg in prepubescence and halfway through pubescence, and more in the second half of pubescence and the post-pubescent period. This gives the early adolescent the "all legs" appearance which disappears later on.

There is a wide range of variation among individuals in the stem: leg ratio. Stoltz and Stoltz (1951) found that stem growth moved toward greater variability during adolescence while leg growth moved toward the average. As a result, even though two youngsters may be the same height, the relative contributions of stem and leg give them different appearances and affects their posture and movement.

The differences in body build between early and late maturers is summarized as follows:

We find a number of differences in the patterns of growth and of build between boys and girls, and between individuals who show different rates of maturing. For both sexes the faster maturing children have more intense spurts of rapid growth, with the period of acceleration both starting and stopping abruptly, while the late maturers have less intense periods of acceleration and with a subsequent growth which is longer continued, more even, and gradual. Boys who mature early tend to be large at all ages, especially so during the accelerated phase; as previously noted they are also usually broad built with relatively wide hips. . . .

Late maturing boys, on the other hand, are more likely to be long-legged and slender, to have a "linear" or "asthenic" build, and to be narrow-headed. The late maturers are relatively small around 13 and 14 years, when their spurt of rapid growth is not yet started, but they grow up to be average or tall adults [Bayley and Tuddenham, 1944, pp. 46-47].

Our concern is not only with external appearance, but also with the meanings and effects this has upon the growing boy or girl. The

most impressive finding of the longitudinal studies is the individuality of growth pattern. This pattern of growth is uneven, as Fig. 14.1 illustrates. Yet, there is a particular personal pattern to growth within the individual, a personal pattern which leaves its impact upon the self-concept of the child.

By and large the culture makes little allowance in its institutions, especially the school, for this tremendous range of individual development; it makes even less allowance for the private meanings. The extent of individuality is emphasized in the conclusions of Stoltz and Stoltz:

The systematic study of the process of growth as it occurs in a considerable sample of adolescent boys emphasizes not only the uniqueness of each individual's *status* at any chronological age but also the idiomatic nature of the *process* in each individual. In every aspect of development

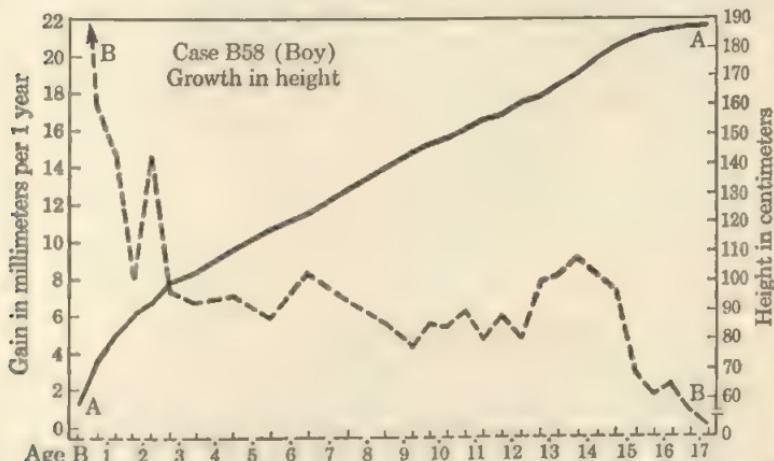


Fig. 14.1. These profiles illustrate two ways in which the same growth data may be arranged and presented. Profile A shows how tall a boy was at successive chronological ages and the general trend of his growth. Profile B shows the changes in the same boy's growth rate during successive periods. Changes from acceleration to deceleration, or the reverse, and changes of gradients from one period to the next constitute the outstanding features of Profile B, but are scarcely noticeable in Profile A. Even if they are magnified in A, by increasing the value of the scale units, the variations in rate would be less obvious than in B because of the cumulative nature of the growth-achieved arrangement. Note, particularly, the distinctive features of this boy's sequential growth pattern for height as they are emphasized in Profile B. (Reprinted from *Somatic Development of Adolescent Boys*, H. Stoltz and L. Stoltz, 1951, Macmillan. Used by permission.)

the manifestations of individuality multiply as the frequency and variety of data collection are increased. The systematic relatedness of growth phenomena *in the individual* becomes more impressive as evidence of differences in growth dynamics *among individuals* accumulates. The patterns of change in skeletal dimensions, subcutaneous tissue, muscular tissue, body hair, genitalia, muscular strength, and body weight show that whatever may be the similarities in growth achieved at the end of adolescence they do not mean identity or even similarity of growth experience [Stolz and Stolz, 1951, p. 429].

Adults who work with teen-agers must become aware of the growth status of each youngster with whom they work. They need to be able to see where he fits in the general picture of development. Further, they need to become sensitive to the roles that his growth pattern and current growth status are playing in influencing his behavior.

The more speculative student, utilizing the transactional position in which mind and body are one and in which the individual is seen as functioning in keeping with his perceptual field, may well ask a difficult but important research question: If the evidence shows systematic uniqueness, and there is a relationship between one's developmental status and his self-concept, could the self-concept be a factor in effecting growth? This would require a new type of longitudinal study, but would certainly be well worth the effort. Why not the self affecting growth patterns as well as growth patterns affecting the self?

To test such a hypothesis, one would have to have a valid measure of maturity rate very early in the life of the child. He would have to be sure, therefore, of the mechanisms involved in maturity rate. This is beyond our abilities at the moment. Further, he would need valid and reliable measures of self-concept, especially concepts of independence-dependence, body image, and satisfaction fairly early in life. This we cannot as yet do. He would need to establish other than a response-response correlational design, so that he could demonstrate antecedent variables. There are other difficulties as well, but in time they may not be insurmountable.

Physiological Changes

Hormonal secretions, whether or not we speculate about the effect of self on the endocrine system, act as instigators of adolescent de-

velopment. What triggers them off is still to be understood, but their effect is obvious.

The major physiological change is in the beginning of the secretion of the gonads—the ovaries in the girl and the testes in the boy. These secretions are begun as a result of pituitary gland action. The pituitary secretes gonadotropic hormone, which activates the gonads. In turn, androgen and estrogen, the secretions of the gonads, influence growth. When their secretion is large, they cause the pituitary to slow down and cease its production of growth hormone.

There is a clear relationship between gonadal secretion and both the spurt of growth when hormone production is low and the tapering off of growth when hormonal secretion becomes substantial. Androgen, the major male secretion, in low amounts stimulates growth while estrogen inhibits growth. Since estrogen secretion in girls begins to increase about age 8 or 9, this may account, to some

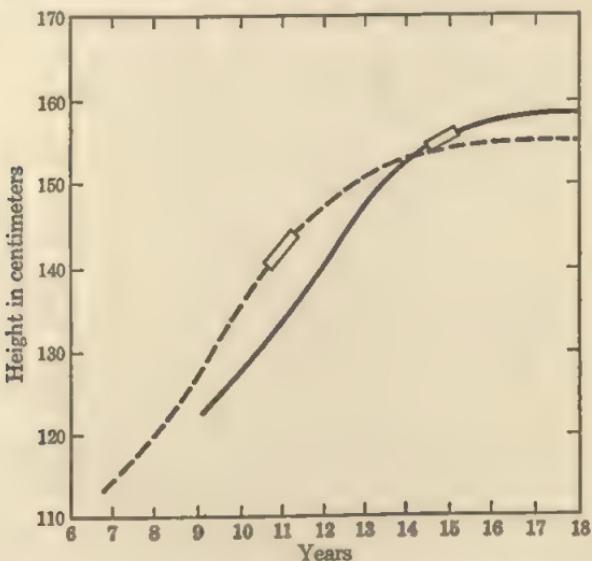


Fig. 14.2. Relation of growth and onset of menarche. The blocks in the curves represent the time of menarche in two groups of girls. Girls with early menarche, and presumably reaching maturity early, have a more accelerated growth curve than girls with late menarche, but the duration of their growth is shorter. As a result of this growth pattern, girls with late maturation are taller, on the average, when final stature is attained. (From Holt and McIntosh, *Holt Pediatrics*, 12th edition, 1953. Courtesy of Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc.)

degree, for the smaller final height of girls. Fig. 14.2 illustrates the relationship between menarche and growth.

A variety of physiological measures have been made on adolescents—basal metabolism, temperature, pulse, and respiration. It has been found that with menarche there is a sudden fall in basal metabolism and an increase in respiratory volume (Shock, 1944). Unfortunately, there is no such clear-cut indication of puberty for boys paralleling the menarche for girls.

The major question is whether or not the normal stability of body function is disrupted by all the changes which occur during adolescence. Is adolescence, physiologically, a period of upset? Is physiological instability a fact? If it is, some of the behavior of adolescents can probably be attributed to the state of their internal environments.

In Chapter 1, and in subsequent chapters, the concepts of the steady-state, differentiation-integration, and movement toward higher levels of organization have been discussed. If there is physiological instability in adolescence, this might suggest the need of the organism to reorganize, to modify its previous system, and to incorporate the changes into a new alignment. In other words, the physiological changes create a situation in which the body has to learn and establish new rhythms and patterns.

A review of the Adolescent Growth Study data, a major source for us in our knowledge and understanding of adolescence, leads to the conclusion that "the data do not support the notion that there is a *generalized* physiological instability during adolescence. Rather they suggest that some functions become stable and others less" (Eichorn and McKee, 1958, p. 261).

Shock, using longitudinal data on 100 teen-age boys and girls, found the same variability with respect to physiological function that we have already seen is characteristic of external physical appearance. He found that sex differences in certain measures, notably blood pressure and respiration, first appear in adolescence. From our point of view, his inference as to the meaning of the wide inter- and intra-individual variations is most intriguing. He states: "This information [that there exists wide variation from the average and that changes are often rapid and abrupt] is of considerable value in interpreting the results of physiological measurements in individual cases. The increased variability . . . may be taken as

an indication that one of the important aspects of development is learning to maintain physiological equilibrium. . . .

"An example of such physiological learning is the regulation of menstrual periodicity. When menstruation first begins in adolescent girls it does not recur at uniform intervals" (Shock, 1960, p. 127).

This irregularity decreases with length of time following menarche, with regularity becoming established no sooner than two years after first menses. The lag between menarche and the ability to conceive also lasts at least a year and often four to six years. The earlier the menarche, the longer the lag (Stuart, 1960).

We, therefore, may say that, physiologically as well as psychologically, adolescence is a period of reorganization and reintegration. The girl, for example, as she grows toward womanhood, is faced with the task not only of comprehending her social role as woman, but also of adapting herself to cyclic changes within her body system. Her concept of herself must encompass both the physiological and the social environment.

HEALTH AND NUTRITION. The early adolescent years, like the years immediately preceding, are what have been called "the golden years." Youth is relatively resistant to infection during this time. The "library of immunity" is fairly well stocked. The main cause of death is accident, especially for boys.

However, this is also a period of increased energy need. The importance of adequate diet cannot be overemphasized. The age of menarche, rather than being influenced by the factors assigned in folklore (e.g., that girls from the tropics mature earlier than girls from the temperate zones), is affected by nutrition. Because of better nutrition and control of disease, the age of menarche has gone down (see Fig. 14.3).

Another example of the role of nutrition is shown by charts of caloric requirements of different age groups. The 8-year-old boy needs about 1,700 calories, the 14-year-old needs almost double this amount. The 14-year-old girl, who is at the peak of her energy requirement, needs about 2,800 calories as compared to the 1,700 she needed when she was 8. Cokes and hamburgers just won't do. It is no wonder that adolescents are incessant refrigerator-raiders and snack-artists. They need the food, but the wise adult makes sure that high protein foods are easily available.

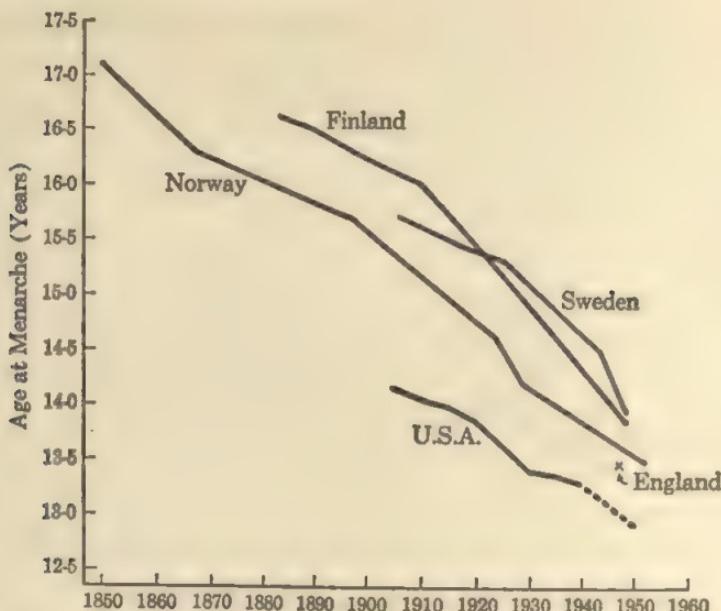


Fig. 14.3. Secular trend in age at menarche, 1850–1950. (Reprinted from *Growth at Adolescence*, J. M. Tanner, 1955, Blackwell Scientific Publications, Ltd. Used by permission.)

Body Image and the Self

If there is anything more individual than the way an adolescent follows the general path of development, it is the unique view he takes of his own progress. Although the interrelationships between one's body and one's self are extremely complex, they exist and are of vital concern to the adolescent.

As we move into this next section, we should be aware that the evidence is far from conclusive and that we are, in effect, "going beyond our data" to theorize about the relationships between the body and the self. We will use data where they exist, but much still remains to be learned.

Factors Affecting Body Image

A seventh-grade art teacher in a Virginia school, in seeking to help students use art as a means of self-expression and self-understanding, gave them several assignments. One was to draw yourself

as you saw yourself 10 years later. The results were quite revealing. Many of the girls drew themselves as Hollywood "sex symbols," in long, slinky, décolleté gowns. Many of the boys portrayed themselves as jet pilots or athletic heroes. The picture that stays with this author, however, is that drawn by a late-maturing girl. Her drawing depicted, in her words, a championship Olympic swimmer. The interesting point about the picture was that all you could see was part of a face and part of an arm; the rest was hidden by the water.

As we came to understand—and as this girl saw herself—she had rejected her body. She did not wish it to be seen, nor did she wish to see it herself. For her, it was submerged.

A postpolio boy in his teens wrote the following as part of a paper in school:

For me, as a physically handicapped person, my two greatest fears and worries have been of falling in the presence of others or while others were watching; and of people not accepting me as an equal because of my disability. I am also afraid of meeting people without their knowing of my disability—at a table or in a car for instance—and then having to watch their display of emotions when they do see it.

I think that it is possible that many of my fears—social acceptance, peer status and personal recognition—are often not well founded. All too often we find what we look for, be it "reality" or not. I think that the things a person looks for and finds depends on the individual and the circumstances.

The physically handicapped, like everyone else, needs to be shown that they are loved, that they are accepted. But for them, I think this need is even greater. I never forget for one moment that I am not "like" everyone else. Things that others aren't even conscious of are of importance to me as a handicapped person. This being the case, ordinary acceptance isn't enough—I must be really made to see that I am "ok"—accepted. This can be accomplished, not by a great display of sympathy, but by an attempt to treat me as an "equal" with the rest, but also at the same time seeing me as an individual, and keeping in mind my limitations.

The author and other adults who knew him were hardly aware of his very slight limp. What seemed to us a minor impairment loomed large in this boy's self-image.

These two instances are not isolated examples, but portray quite vividly the intense meaning the body has to the adolescent.

Rate of Maturity

Rate of maturity, as seen in the art example, poses many problems of self-acceptance. Both the extremely early and the extremely late

boy or girl faces peer situations that put them at a disadvantage. The adolescent does not wish to be different from his peers, but his rate of growth may place him in this position.

The early-maturing boy, if he's not too far ahead, is at an advantage over the late maturer. In the American culture, height, weight, and strength all carry status.

In what ways does the self-concept of the early maturing boy differ from that of the late maturer? Three approaches have been used to explore this question. Jones and Bayley (1950) used observation and ratings of the behavior of teen-age boys. They found the late maturer displayed a higher activity rate and was more animated and eager in his activities. They inferred that this was compensatory behavior. If one needs to compensate, the question arises, compensate for what? The obvious answer in this case is for feelings of inadequacy due to size.

Still, although this may be a good hunch, it is an incomplete answer. An inference from behavior is one path, inference from projective materials offers another avenue. Thematic Apperception Test data was used in the California Growth Study to get a more covert expression of self-conceptions. Thirty-three boys, aged 17, upon whom there was complete physical growth data, took the TAT. The researchers conclude:

Analysis of the data of the present study indicates that this situation [late maturity] may have adverse effects on the personalities of the physically retarded. These boys are more likely to have negative self-conceptions, feelings of inadequacy, strong feelings of being rejected and dominated, prolonged dependency needs, and rebellious attitudes toward parents. In contrast, the early-maturing boys present a much more favorable psychological picture during adolescence. Relatively few of them felt inadequate, rejected, dominated, or rebellious toward their families. More of them appeared to be self-confident, independent, and capable of playing an adult role in interpersonal relationships [Mussen and Jones, 1957, p. 255].

The third study used pubic hair as the index of maturity and 44 boys between 12 and 15 as subjects. Self-concept was inferred by the researchers from human figure drawings, a personality scale and a paragraph completions instrument. Postpubescent boys, in their drawings, revealed higher images of adequacy as males than did their prepubescent peers. On the other hand, chronological age was more related to statements about emancipation from parents

and heterosexual interests than was pubic age (Smith and Lebo, 1956). We would expect that experience would play a role along with maturation in these attitudes toward others. These boys were still in early adolescence; the boys in the previous study were late adolescents who had, perhaps, already incorporated these issues into their self systems.

What about maturity as a problem for girls? We would expect the *early-maturing girl* to be the one with difficulties. Does research support this hunch? In a parallel study to that done on the boys, the extreme cases of 17-year-old girls took the TAT. Surprisingly, the early-maturing girls did *not* show negative self-conceptions. Jones and Mussen (1958) assume that the reason may have been because the critical period was already past. It may be, however, that moving into womanhood early is desired by girls in our culture. We certainly emphasize speeding up everything else!

More's intensive study of a small group of Midwestern boys and girls may support this different view. He found the early-maturing girls, as measured by a battery of projective techniques, were more rational, more independent, and had better integrated systems of personal values than late maturers.

More's point of view is that our society calls upon youngsters to display competence in patterned ways of heterosexual relationships rather than in deep involvements. He concludes, therefore, "that the socially successful girl was the one who acted *as if* she were sexually mature, but who does not allow herself to feel the emotions which she appears to be acting out. Within the normal ranges of physical maturation in the sample, the girl who matures earlier has a distinct advantage in making this socially prized shift earlier. She learns it more thoroughly than her physically retarded girl friend. She is the one who is better fitted. . . ." (More, 1955, p. 117).

A third suggestion that early maturity is the desired status for girls is made by Davidson and Gottlieb (1955). According to their Rorschach data, postmenarcheal girls seem to have better self-concepts.

What conclusions can we draw? First, the rate of maturity does affect the self-concept of the adolescent. Second, it seems that early maturers, regardless of sex, have, as a group, conceptions of self as more adequate, more accepted, more integrated than that of their late-maturing peers. Third, the relationships are by no means simple,

and the correlation between physical maturity and self-concept is far from 1.0. Many individual factors need to be considered. Of vital importance is the already developed self-concept held by the boy or girl when he reaches adolescence. Fourth, since some of these studies and others were done on late adolescents and young adults (age 33) (Jones, 1957), the effects seem to be long-range, lasting into at least young adulthood, rather than situational.

Physical Appearance

We all know the Snow White story, in which the beautiful but vain Queen implored her magic mirror to reassure her that she was the fairest one of all. Each child has his magic mirror, too. It consists of his idealized image of what he might look like when he grows up. Before the changes of adolescence, such an image is safe. As he sees himself assume his virtually final appearance, the rude awakening comes for many an adolescent. The magic mirror image retreats before the "real" one he sees each day.

We are aware of what seems—to the adult—the inordinate amount of time the early adolescent spends in front of the mirror. Could it be that he needs this time to attempt a reconciliation between the hoped-for and the emergent reality? He evaluates what he is becoming, and then must learn to live with it. He assesses his *height*, *weight*, *general body build*, *facial appearance* (including the presence of acne) and modifies his self-concept in terms of what he perceives.

The tall girl perceives herself, perhaps, as facing unfair competition on the dance floor. She shudders at the vision of dancing with a boy a head shorter. She may slump as she walks or wear clothes that give the impression of reduced height or avoid high heels.

Perhaps the short boy faces similar difficulties. If he is growing up in a basketball-conscious town where status is achieved by being on the varsity team, he resents not only the "beanpoles" but also himself. He sees his height as a drawback—and it often is.

One 14-year-old, for example, wrote:

Size means a lot in the ninth grade, especially when you are small, you get pushed around by all the bigger [sic] boys. To be in sports you have to be big and brawny. On the football field you always get the bad positions. When you play basketball they never pass to you. If you get

the ball, they expect you to pass it immediately to them, and if you don't you're a stupid dope. You never get a chance to show how good you are. If you miss a shot they tell you that you ought to learn to shoot, but they don't let you learn to shoot because they are always hogging the ball. When you are small they never invite you to a party [Strang, 1957, p. 237].

On the other hand, body image is a strange phenomenon. The youth may believe his shortness to be more acute than it is. Even when he reaches his final height, which may be average for his generation, he may carry himself as though he were shorter. He may walk with rounded shoulders, slouch in his seat, look up to others who are really his own height. The impact of his stature stays with him whether he attempts to fight it or surrender to it.

Weight, too, makes its impact. The early adolescent girl is likely to put on weight, for this phenomenon is a result of the changes occurring within her body. She reads the ads in the fashion magazines, in movie fan magazines, and watches the TV commercials. One of the effects of these media is the dieting fad. At a time when good nutrition is so essential, she may virtually starve herself in her efforts to resemble the Parisian model.

Being too fat or too thin, being different, is what creates adolescent concern. Of course, it will affect each child in its own way, but it does leave its mark.

Secondary Sex Characteristics

Secondary sex characteristics are evaluated by the adolescent boy or girl on the basis of their appropriateness. The boy's shower room and locker room in the junior high school gymnasium can be a place for either exhibitionism or intense embarrassment. Although the humor is often crude, each boy becomes aware of whether or not he approaches his peers'—and his own—concept of the male physique. He must look male. Fatty deposits on hips, some breast development, lack of pubic hair, or small external genitalia all serve to make him a target for ridicule.

Girls, too, must cope with the meanings assigned by both the adult and peer cultures as to what constitutes the ideal feminine form. There was a time where there was little advertising or display concerning aids to nature. Now the early adolescent girl is bombarded by manufacturers' efforts to exploit the teen-age market. She

is told that she doesn't have to either wait or depend upon nature. She can fill that yellow polka dot bikini right now. But she knows her own physical self, and may reject or be unhappy with her body because it does not measure up to cultural demands.

Further, she is confused about the shift from the tomboyish activity of prepubescence to the more feminine activities now expected of her. As one girl stated it: "There comes a time when you are baffled as to whether or not to play with boys—playing such things as football and other rough sports. If you don't, you don't get very much exercise, as an all-girl unorganized game is awful. Most of us decide to play with the boys but to take it easy" (Strang, 1957, p. 226).

Acne and body odors, both results of the changing physiological functions, are causes of great concern. Again, the world of advertising, the impact of the mass media, add to the individual's awareness. The youngster is afraid that even his best friends won't tell him. He has learned that "nervous perspiration" is worst of all and that success with the girls depends not upon your charm but your hair oil. The net effect is to make youngsters dissatisfied with something that is a natural function. They are vulnerable to the advertisements because they take them personally. Attractiveness to the opposite sex holds high value, and they are crucially aware of any factor which might effect their status.

We must reiterate a word of caution. In the case of any individual youngster, his self-concepts will be the result of the totality of the transactions between his changing organism and his world. His self-system will strongly affect the new meanings he assigns to his body and his self. He is not born anew in adolescence; what modifications he makes have their origins within his self-system as it has already evolved. If he comes to adolescence with a view of himself as essentially adequate, his interpretation of any physical factors which might be negative will be tempered by his concept of self as adequate. Conversely, the youngster entering adolescence with feelings of inadequacy may view his body (which others may see as adequate) as not what he would like it to be. We cannot, therefore, apply indiscriminately to the individual our conclusions about early adolescents as a group.

Approximately one-third of the adolescents in the California

Growth Study were definitely disturbed, as judged by a physician who knew them well, about their physical characteristics. Tables 14.5 and 14.6 show the numbers and causes. The numbers of boys and girls in these tables "who suffered known anxieties concerning physical factors represent a minimum accounting, since others undoubtedly had, at one time or another, some degree of disturbance in this area which did not come to the physician's attention" (Stolz and Stolz, 1944, p. 86).

Another indication of the extent of concern is shown by Table 14.7, compiled by Strang from compositions written by more than 1,000 junior and senior high school pupils.

Thus height, weight, sexually appropriate physique—any factor which stamps one as noticeably different—all influence the adolescent's concept of himself.

Why is this so important? "The changing body becomes a symbol, not only of being different from last month or last year, but of a new attitude toward self, toward others, toward life" (Stolz and Stolz, 1944, p. 82). With this background, we can look at the

TABLE 14.5

Physical Manifestations Which Disturbed Boys	Number of Boys
Lack of size—particularly height	7
Fatness	7
Poor physique	4
Lack of muscular strength	4
Unusual facial features	4
Unusual development in the nipple area	4
Acne	3
Skin blemishes, scars	2
Bowed legs	2
Obvious scoliosis	2
Lack of shoulder breadth	1
Unusually small genitalia	1
Unusually large genitalia	1

SOURCE: Reprinted from "Adolescent Problems Relating to Somatic Variations," H. Stolz and L. Stolz, *Adolescence*, 43rd Yearbook, 1944, National Society for the Study of Education. Used by permission.

TABLE 14.6

Physical Manifestations Which Disturbed Girls	Number of Girls
Tallness	7
Fatness	7
Facial features	5
General physical appearance	5
Tallness and heaviness	3
Smallness and heaviness	3
Eyeglasses and strabismus	2
Thinness and small breasts	2
Late development	2
Acne	1
Hair	1
Tallness and thinness	1
Big legs	1
One short arm	1
Scar on face	1
Brace on back	1

SOURCE: Reprinted from "Adolescent Problems Relating to Somatic Variations," H. Stoltz and L. Stoltz, *Adolescence*, 43rd Yearbook, 1944, National Society for the Study of Education. Used by permission.

TABLE 14.7**Adolescent's Expression Concerning Body Growth**

Grade Level and IQ	Number of Com- positions	Those Express- ing Satisfac- tion with Own Body Growth		Those Express- ing Dissatisfac- tion with Own Body Growth	
		No.	Percent	No.	Percent
7-8-9; Average IQ: 95.2	247	45	18	54	22
7-8-9; IQ: 120-129	121	39	32	29	24
7-8-9; IQ: 130 and over	35	10	29	13	37
10-11-12; Average IQ: 94.9	636	113	18	144	23
10-11-12; IQ: 120-129	65	25	38	15	23
10-11-12; IQ: 130 and over	20	6	30	5	25

SOURCE: Reprinted by permission from *The Adolescent Views Himself*, by Ruth Strang. Copyright, 1957, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

adolescent's new attitudes toward others and then, in Chapter 16, at his new attitudes toward self.

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The Changing World of the Early Adolescent

Although it is impossible to separate attitudes of self from attitudes toward others, we will focus here upon the ways in which self-concepts are reflected in behavior and attitudes toward others. We shall also examine the environmental field of the early adolescent—his home, culture, school, and peer group.

Parent-Child Relationships

Parents of adolescents are often depicted as either weak, ineffectual, bemused characters who are thrown for a loss by the behavior of their offspring, or as autocratic, harsh disciplinarians engaged in a running fight to keep their children in line. On the one hand, they are accused of being too lenient, on the other of not allowing children to grow up.

This dual image of the parent probably reflects the dual struggle of the early adolescent to strengthen his identification with the parent of the same sex and emancipate himself from the home. Although this struggle is highly marked during the adolescent years, it is only the continuation of a trend begun at the moment of self-awareness, if not before.

Because of his changing body, the many new experiences he has, and the backlog of development, the early adolescent perceives his parents and his family in a new light. The new look at parents is not

completely distinct from the old; it is fashioned upon the concepts which have been developed. Parents and their children do not suddenly exhibit behavior different from their earlier behavior, although covert thoughts may now become more overt.

The parent who is seen as weak and ambivalent in allowing the child to go with the gang, to date, to stay out later, is the same parent who cried at the loss of the child when he went off to school. The youngster who is confused and guilty about his new urges and desires has experienced this feeling before. The difference lies in the pressures from outside the family and in the increased understanding of the adolescent. Where formerly he might have surrendered to the pressure to stay tied, he may now rebel against it.

The child learned in elementary school that he was not the center of the world. He now learns what is for many parents a bitter fact: his parents are not all-good, all-wise, and all-powerful. Previously, when up against parental pressure, he may have felt that he was somehow wrong to oppose it; now he sees his parents more clearly for what they are—human beings. Perhaps he feels cheated by this discovery, and communication becomes more difficult as a result. Perhaps this discovery opens up to him chances to disagree without guilt, to apply pressure in turn, to stand up for "his rights." Whatever view he takes is related to the previous relationship between the early adolescent and his parents.

Identification

The importance of identification in normal development has been stressed in earlier chapters. It becomes heightened in early adolescence. The boy who perceives his relationships with his father to be strained responds in unhealthy ways. He may move toward aggressive delinquent acts, or toward homosexuality. His perception of his parent depends upon the extent and type of communication which has existed throughout his life.

How closely do parent and child see alike? Helper (1958) asked parents to fill out a self-rating as they thought that their children would respond. He discovered a relationship between parental evaluation and the child's self-evaluation. He hypothesized that with more refined techniques it might be possible to show that parental evaluations have much effect. A similar study by Silver (1958) indicated that the level and stability of a boy's self-concept

ratings were significantly related to paternal acceptance and to a lesser extent to maternal acceptance.

A clearer view of the importance of father-son relationships can be obtained through the careful, perceptive work of Bandura and Walters (1959). They hypothesized that dependency relationships and patterns would be related to aggressive delinquency. Fifty-two families were studied intensively by means of interviews, self-reports, TAT data. Twenty-six of the boys had been in trouble with the law; the other 26 were selected by school counselors as being neither especially aggressive or withdrawn. Age, IQ, socioeconomic background, ordinal position, and neighborhood factors were all matched.

What do the data reveal? Perhaps the most significant conclusion can be conveyed by the following excerpts from interviews with the boys. In the case of the aggressive boys, a typical interview proceeded thus:

- I. How often would you say you went to your father to talk things over?
- B. (Case 33) Never.
- I. How about if you were worried about something or had gotten into a scrape? Do you go to him then?
- B. No. I never go to my parents.
- I. When your parents make a suggestion, do you usually accept it or do you prefer to work it out for yourself?
- B. I'd rather work things out for myself. . . .
- I. Some fellows go around with their parents quite a lot, for example on trips or to movies. Others don't like this very much. How do you feel about this?
- B. I don't go.

The control boys' interviews illustrate the contrast:

- I. How often would you say you went to your father to talk things over?
- B. (Case 28) About, maybe about, do you think I should do this, or about maybe a job, or if he thinks I should take it, or if he thinks I should go someplace or do this, or on money problems or anything, I ask my father.
- I. Do you do the same with your mother?
- B. Not as much with my mother as with my father. I'm not closer to him than to my mother, but I think that I do, he's done usually and he has more insight into it. . . .
- I. Now I'd like to ask you how often you go somewhere with your father.
- B. I go with him, not regularly, but not just on special occasions. As much as possible, as much as I want to and, you know, not on vaca-

tions, but say there was a picnic yesterday, the office picnic. I usually go. I didn't go yesterday because I was working, but I have gone all the time. Fishing once in a while and football games, he tries to take me. He says he wants me to see everything in life and things he hasn't had the opportunity to. We try to, we do a lot of things together [Bandura and Walters, 1959, p. 72].

The perception of father as helper, guide, and affectionate supporter seems to be a critical factor. This perception seems to have begun to develop in early childhood. There was no essential difference among these boys as to mothering in infancy. It seems the poor start and continuous disruption of opportunities for close father-son identification is the major variable.

This difficulty continues to be reinforced by the current life situation. The homes of the aggressive boys are characterized by inconsistency in the handling of aggressive behavior. "On the one hand, both the mothers and the fathers of the aggressive boys encouraged their sons' aggression outside the home while the mothers, through their relative permissiveness of aggression toward themselves, allowed opportunities for aggression to occur, and so to be reinforced, in the home. On the other hand, the fathers of the aggressive boys were very nonpermissive of aggression toward themselves and both they and their wives had from time to time punished their sons for aggression, particularly aggression toward adults. Since their parents encouraged aggression in some circumstances, the punishment that the aggressive boys received probably served merely to make them more hostile and resentful" (Bandura and Walters, 1959, p. 131).

How can someone anchor to a point that shifts? How can the child make appropriate differentiations when he cannot predict? In the case of these aggressive boys, there was no feeling of home as a safe haven.

Fortunately for most early adolescent children, particularly those in the middle class, parent-child relationships are strong and essentially positive. By and large, the children accept the adult values and internalize the way of life of the family. This does not mean a lack of conflict, but it means the friction is kept within bounds and does not lead to the great mass of children becoming rebels without cause.

Studies of "suburbia," for example, reveal that "there are few

sharp conflicts between parents and children; . . . the youth culture elements exist, but they are less dominant than are accepted family and authority guidance patterns" (Elkin and Westley, 1955, p. 684).

One source of conflict, perhaps even in the suburban homes mentioned above, is in the differing perceptions between the generations of what constitutes the "good" parent and the "good" child. Although the researchers fail to indicate the exact nature of the differences (on what items do people disagree?), Connor *et al.* (1958) report that there is not only difference between parents, but also a greater difference between parent and child. Fathers differ most from their children in their view of the ideal role.

All these studies, viewed together, point up one significant fact: In the life of the adolescent, *both* parents are important. If the father has neglected his role as a conveyor of warmth and acceptance, his son stands a good chance of finding early adolescence a time of difficulty. If the mother's role in the family has been of little importance, in which she has received little respect from her husband, the daughter's identification with and acceptance of her female role may be deficient.

As Frank points out:

Young girls who are involved in sex delinquencies and who have venereal infections are individuals who have never accepted, indeed have rejected, the female and feminine role . . . they have never developed any feeling of being a woman with a sense of their own dignity or worth as a woman. . . . To speak of them as the victims of passion, or weak-willed individuals who could not resist sex temptations, is to misunderstand completely their conduct and their feelings. By exercising power over men, some are getting revenge for the years of humiliation they have suffered as girls under dominant fathers and contemptuous brothers [Frank, 1944, p. 245].

Emancipation

The interpersonal relationships within the family serve as the field in which the youngster continues to work on emancipating himself from the home. Parents, we have seen, are ambivalent: they want him to grow but they also expect him to remain dependent and somewhat subservient to their wishes. They hope their child will do "the right thing," but worry that he or she will get "into trouble" without careful supervision.

The child is equally ambivalent. He or she wants to be seen as adult, yet often acts in childish, dependent ways. The timing of the shifts from dependent to independent behavior also acts to create problems. It seems that the very occasion that the parents feel calls for self-reliance and adult behavior is the one perceived by the youngster as requiring dependent behavior, and vice versa. In early adolescence, late hours, dating, and earning money are three areas in which this conflict occurs.

The "going steady" pattern which has sifted down into the junior high school is a case in point. The parents, who can't understand going steady at 15, try to "reason" with the child with regard to why he or she (1) shouldn't date at all or (2) should play the field and (3) should avoid any sexual experimentation or intimacy. The parents' fears also reflect their own recollection of adolescence. But "going steady," or any other adolescent pattern of behavior, does not evolve from a vacuum. It grows out of the cultural milieu (see Chapter 7). We may hypothesize that this pattern might have been learned as follows: the adult world, especially in middle-class neighborhoods, has promoted social dancing in the intermediate grades, formal proms in the sixth grade, and movie "dates" in the preteen years. Parents, before their own children reach puberty, tend to think of such activities as "cute." They encourage heterosexual relationships in preadolescence. Now, when children take the next logical step, parents throw up their hands in horror.

They do not comprehend that going steady is a part of the emancipation process. It certainly has sexual overtones, but it has many other explanations. It provides the youngster with a secure place in a peer group, a guarantee of some source of security in lieu of the home. It is a part of reaching out and forming other primary attachments. It most often does not lead to marriage, but it may have the adverse effect of denying youngsters broad heterosexual experience. Whether it is good or evil, in the eyes of the early adolescent it is part of his emancipatory pattern.

Although the situation assumes many forms—and we shall see the increased intensity of the struggle in later adolescence—the greatest problem is the question of the degree of freedom allowed the youngster. The early adolescent, luckily, is still not old enough to drive a car legally in most states. The early adolescent, and his big

brother, too, tends to view freedom apart from responsibility. They tend to see freedom as the total right to do anything.

The wise parent tries to allow all the freedom the youngster can handle. He tries to help the boy or girl see that responsibility for one's behavior is part of the price of freedom. Even the most successful parent will feel frustrated as he faces the forceful challenge of his child's "right to do what he wants." He cannot grant this; to do so surrenders his parental role.

The parent needs to recognize the great need for emancipation, to see life through the child's eyes, and to provide ways in which the youngster can participate in decision-making. Above all, a consistent policy, even though subject to revision at the family council table, is required. The establishment of a family council when the youngster first enters school would appear desirable. Learning to make decisions and accept consequences does not occur overnight, nor can it be delayed until conflicts occur during the pubescent period. Inconsistency is perhaps the worst way out of the dilemma.

The Junior High School: A New Way of Life

The change from the self-contained classroom, with one teacher in a neighborhood school, to a departmental arrangement defines part of the shift in school culture experienced by the early adolescent. The individual student must now cope with a half-dozen teachers and a student body probably three times as large as his elementary school. At a time when he is still establishing his identity, when his body image is being reshaped, when he is struggling with emancipation from home, the educational system adds its share to the burden of instability. He has to establish a place for himself all over again in school. Of course, he knows many of the others from his own "feeder" school, but he may be placed in sections apart from friends (Scandrette, 1951).

His elementary school was populated essentially with youngsters from about the same social class; the junior high brings him into contact with a wider slice of the American society.

In elementary school, even those which were experimenting with grouping for ability or using the standard grading on achievement, he was generally considered by his teachers as an individual who

should be helped to grow at his own rate. In junior high, he comes up against the multiple-track system, the accelerated and general classes, the subject-matter orientation, the assumption that each child should be judged on some absolute scale.

Historically, the junior high was created as a transitional step between the child-oriented elementary school and the college-oriented high school. In practice, and in location, it has often become a downward extension of the high school. That this is dangerous and unfair to the pupil has been pointed out by James Conant in his report on the junior high school. A news release quotes him: "Early adolescence is a very special period physically, emotionally and socially. It is a crucial age in the transition from childhood to adulthood and often presents many problems. He said the junior high school program should reflect this transition. . . . He warned, too, of treating the three-year junior high as a small scale high school."¹

What does all this mean to the early adolescent? Again, it will depend upon the self-concept he brings with him. If he has had success in school, if he has confidence in his ability, he may view these new circumstances as exciting and challenging. He may see the shift as evidence of growing up. He may like the idea that he'll meet and make many new friends.

However, for many youngsters the transition is difficult. They perceive the new school as a threat. Just the size of the physical plant can be a problem. Dyer's study of several Midwestern cities revealed that over one-fourth of seventh-graders reported difficulties. They were troubled by the need to locate classrooms, make friends, learn the rules, become acquainted with new teachers, understand the work, and use the cafeteria (Dyer, 1950).

They all must learn not only the formal school arrangement, but also the informal "clique" and status system. Belonging to the right group, going to the right place, wearing the right clothes become intertwined with going to junior high. In the many school districts in which the junior-senior high school is actually one six-year facility, the seventh-grader is caught up in emulating the high school senior, in the welter of extraclass activities and the varsity athletic program. This is heady food for many and probably increases the distress of late-maturing children. It may be worthwhile for the

¹ St. Petersburg Times, October 9, 1960.

early-maturing girl in that it gives her opportunities for boy-girl relationships which are more satisfactory than those available within her own age group.

Our knowledge of the actual impact upon the student is limited. Studies of the junior high as a social system, similar to that done by C. W. Gordon (see Chapter 17 and footnote 2), are needed, as well as studies concerning the views held about self in relation to school.

We can get some indication of the way a particular child viewed school by observing classroom behavior. We might caption the following description as: "An Hour in the Life of Mary."² It reveals attitudes toward self, toward teacher, and toward peers. It shows the way students treat one of their peers in class. It portrays the high level of energy output which often occurs in early adolescence. The behavior setting is a seventh-grade "core" class, in which several periods are spent with the same teacher. The scene opens at 9:30 A.M. The observer writes:

Mary was wearing avocado colored bermudas, white sleeveless blouse with shirttail out, black leather flats. All the other girls in the class wore dresses. Mary had long brown hair with a white three-quarters of an inch hairband. She was wearing lipstick. The fourteen other girls were not wearing lipstick. Her figure was rounding out where the other girls were straight and flat in build.

There were a variety of tables and chairs in the room, semi-circular tables, trapezoidal tables, rectangular tables with unattached chairs, and some single chair-desk combinations. Mary was sitting in a single chair-desk. There were three boys sitting to her left. The class was finishing an English lesson when I arrived at the break. Mary was at the board diagramming a sentence. She had made a mistake and Gloria was helping her. When the class had been excused, Mary erased what had been on the board, wrote down her own sentence and diagrammed it. They all came back to the room to continue with arithmetic. The tables were in a semi-circular arrangement facing the green board.

The instructor was a young male, Mr. Smith. He sat down at a table in the middle of the semi-circle with two of the youngsters. He asked them to turn to page 48 in their math books. Six children volunteered to answer the first problem. Mary did not. Mr. Smith called on one boy who had not volunteered. Boy answered wrong. Mr. Smith said, "Do you think that's the way to do it?" Silence. For the next problem Mary quickly volunteered along with four of her classmates. Mr. Smith called on her first, she answered wrong. Mr. Smith called on another, who answered correctly. Mary said, "Oh, I forgot that one-half hour."

² The reader is referred to R. Barker and H. Wright, *One Boy's Day*, for a fuller description of the psychological ecology methodology.

Mr. Smith went to the board and asked what formula to use for the next problem. He wrote on the board as they answered. As they went on to work it, it was not coming out right. Mr. Smith turned his back to the class, and Mary waved both hands violently. About six other children had their hands up. Mr. Smith turned. Mary took one hand down and held the other one still. Mr. Smith called on someone else. The problem was worked out. The next problem was brought up. Several of the children began to discuss it and resolve it together. Mary looked at her legs and fingers, the Bermuda cuff, looked up, tossed her head.

Mr. Smith then called for volunteers to go to the board. Mary waved her hand in the air, as did twelve of her classmates. Mr. Smith chose Mary and three girls to go to the board. Mr. Smith instructed others to work on paper at their seats. They were fraction problems. Mary wrote rapidly, as Mr. Smith read the problem, hitting board with hard, firm strokes. The other girls worked rapidly but quietly. Mary finished first, had right answer. Mr. Smith asked for one at seat to give correct answer. Those at their seats volunteered before those at the board finished.

Mr. Smith called for volunteers to work at the board. Mary and ten others volunteered. He called on Mary. He read the problem to her (fraction problem). She worked the addition of fractions and whole numbers. Mr. Smith asked her to stop, and point out to a boy where he had his trouble.

Mary went on and put wrong figures on the board. Class laughed—she said, "Oh, shut up" to her left. Had some more trouble. Boys on her right laughed, she turned to them and said, "Shut up!" Mr. Smith said, "You don't want to reduce fraction now, but break it into whole numbers and fraction." Mary said, "Oh, I forgot." Went on. Began division and made a mistake in subtraction. Boys to right began shouting and laughing. She turned to them, to board, to them, to board. She discovered her mistake and began to add this to original whole number. Forgot a digit in front of the number, more laughing, discovering mistake, and answered correctly. Mary did not laugh.

Mr. Smith announced a contest between boys and girls. Whole class began to laugh and chatter (Mary too). He called for volunteers. About twenty-four hands went up, including Mary's. Mr. Smith called on Mary and Bob (for the boys). Mary said, "Mr. Smith, you picked the dumbest girl in the class to go against the smartest boy." Class laughed. Mr. Smith read the problem. Mary and Bob wrote rapidly. Mary finished the problem first, then Bob. Both had the wrong answer. Mary flung both fists to the board, but didn't hit it. Two more pairs went up. Class got noisy until Mr. Smith said, "Control yourselves. Everybody be quiet. Work page 52 for the next ten minutes. QUIET!" Class worked until the bell rang. Mary worked quietly too.

From the above, we can visualize the impact of the total school setting: teacher, peers, subject matter upon Mary, who happens to

be an early-maturing girl. There is no assumption of "typicality" either about this classroom or about Mary. It has been selected merely to show what occurs in a classroom, so that an observer, with a sequence of such scenes, can infer both the school setting and the self-concept of the youngster.

Society and the Early Adolescent

We mentioned in our discussion of the body image that the mass media tends to exploit the fears and hopes of adolescents. Sexual awareness is aroused and stimulated by movies, TV, and magazines. On the one hand, the child is told by his parents, teachers, and religious leaders to sublimate his impulses and, on the other hand, is subjected to a barrage of sexuality in the mass media and in his neighborhood.

He reads the movie ads in the daily newspaper, marked "for adults only" and his imagination runs riot. Parent groups have organized to remove certain magazines from supermarket and drug store shelves because they fear that such literature will "poison" their young.

The early adolescent's needs to know, to understand this complex phenomenon we label "sex" are thus magnified and denied by the adult world. This problem is not unique to the United States. A London study clearly illustrates the problem. This study is of the behavior, attitudes, and problems of youth using a facility known as "Grosvenor," for the Grosvenor Recreational Evening Institute, which would correspond to a combination settlement house and evening high school in a large American city.

Grosvenor was used extensively by youth between the ages of 14 and 21. Jordan and Fisher report:

Even our limited observation of the students showed that the individual sexual needs vary within a surprisingly wide range. Our educational discipline and our social regulations may make insufficient allowance for such variation. . . . In fact a "mass-observer" from some simple society might note what would appear to him the strange form of torture prevalent in a society which decrees that the young shall postpone all expression of sex until economic maturity is attained, and at the same time by its advertising provides mass incitement to break the law [Jordan and Fisher, 1955, p. 109].

This inconsistency between the mores of the adult world and its expectations for the early adolescent are by no means confined to the sexual sphere. They pervade the whole structure of the society. The young adolescent is told that work is good, but there is virtually no productive work available for him to do in the city. He is told that he must accept responsibility, but in school and society he is treated as irresponsible. He is told that he must develop a moral code, that he must learn right from wrong, but a quick look at national and local news shows him that even adults are confused on these issues.

As Gardner so aptly stated it, "Let us consider for a moment our politico-governmental climate and our communication media as societies that impinge on the adolescent endeavoring to incorporate mature values of social morality—in respect to his treatment of his fellow men. In the former, he will find the highest value placed upon the democratic process in juxtaposition with high value placed upon the most flagrant expressions of bigotry, prejudice and thorough circumvention of guaranteed basic rights and privileges. In the latter—in the matter of mass communication media—he is subjected to summaries of the highest achievements in social living and aesthetic productions, again in temporal sequence to an elaboration of the lowest and crassest of human motivations. We as adults seemingly must place some value on these expressions—or rather our societies in the aggregate as a society must place some value on all of them—or what is more to the point, our lack of unanimity in regard to these values evidences our own conflicts. Again, I reiterate, it is difficult for the adolescent to solve his conflicts in regard to social morality in a society that is itself conflicted."

"I would emphasize again that these adolescent children of ours cannot be considered solely from the viewpoint of their internal conflicts and processes, but must on the contrary be considered biosocially, with due emphasis upon the pressures and value systems of the groups that surround them, and with emphasis upon the sometimes sharply conflicting values in the multiple roles that they must assume" (Gardner, 1957, pp. 515, 517).

Evidence of the effects of cultural conflicts and inconsistencies which beset the early adolescent girl are vividly portrayed in Table 15.1. The "common man" level refers to the upper-lower and lower-middle classes. Milner studied 30 adolescents, collecting data

through interviews, psychometrics, check lists, free responses, projective techniques, sociometric ratings, and physical examinations. From this welter of data she concludes about the family pattern of the typical girl: "To disobey their parents is to break a moral law. . . . The mother-child relationship may be characterized as under-loving and over-controlling" (Milner, 1949, p. 285). She found no common pattern for the boys, which may illustrate that boys in our society are freer to explore, to be themselves. The Samoan and Navaho culture statements are results of the work of cultural anthropologists.

We can see from Table 15.1 that the American culture is more inhibiting and repressive. It demands more stereotypes and formalized behavior patterns. This coincides with the view expressed in Chapter 14 as that held by More as a result of his study. It must be emphasized that the ideas and self-concept of the early adolescent girl as depicted here and in the studies by More and Milner are still theoretical interpretations. Much more careful work needs to be done before we can say with assurance how the girl sees herself.

Peer Relationships

The "way out" of the dilemma of the conflict of adult cultural demands at home, in school, and in the world at large with the changing biological and developmental pressures within the early adolescent has been found for him in the peer group.

A major function of the peer group at this age is the provision of opportunities for the youngster to meet his needs for status and achievement. The real status symbols of the society are denied the early adolescent: work, cars, access to many events, mature heterosexual relationships. The peer group serves as a substitute.

Of course, the peer culture during adolescence mirrors the adult culture. But it is not a simple reflection. Our view is that the peer group plays a variety of vital roles for the adolescent, that it is in continuous exchange with the adult culture (it might be viewed as an open system) but it is a separate subculture. In many respects, it does not differ from the adult world (see section on values in Chapter 18), but the adolescent may "act out" these values in his own particular fashion, and modify them in ways to suit his particular needs.

TABLE 15.1

Comparison of the "Feminine Personality" of Two Age Levels and Three Cultures

Personality Area	American Adolescent Girl, Common Man Level	American Housewife, Common Man Level	Samoan Adolescent Girl	Navaho Adolescent Girl
Mental functioning	Anxieties and drive for conformity reduce mental efficiency and imaginal creativity. But achievement drive counterbalances this reduction, in area of academic performance.	Reduced imagination and personal resources: Ideas routine and concepts repetitive. Suppression of resources available for attacking emotional problems.	Is able to do all the numerous household tasks considered her responsibility by adolescence, in a relaxed, taken-for-granted way. No drive for achievement.	Practical, matter-of-fact. Not impressed with abstract goals or intellectual achievement for its own sake.
Impulse expression and control	Suppresses overt impulse expression. Conflict between inner and social demands.	Impulse suppression; fears spontaneity and impulsivity—wants to keep these under control. Resistance to mentioning sex.	Easy acceptance and expression of impulses, especially the sexual.	Conscious outer control in relation to social demands. But expresses instinctual urges freely, particularly the sexual.
Anxiety level and sources	High or pervasive anxiety, due to feeling that world is hostile, to feelings of affectional deprivation, to conflict between inner	Feels the environment is against her and fears that she will not succeed in her struggle with it. Lacks feeling of control	No evidence of anxiety. Extended kin system provides emotional support of an impersonal type. Adolescence not a period	Lack of guilt feelings over infractions of the rules. Affectional deprivation not a problem—extended kin to give

	and soc & 'emands. "Adolescent withdrawal."	over own fate. Apprehensive about the new and unknown.	of crisis or stress; no conflicts or remote ambitions.	affection. Some adolescent withdrawal.
Picture of outer world	World seen as hostile, unfriendly, unloving.	World seen as usually unrewarding and frequently punishing for moral infractions. Viewed, further, as conventional, repetitive, and filled with petty detail.	World considered non-complex, orderly, non-threatening.	Very aware of the world about her and reacts to it on a practical matter-of-fact level. No generalized hostility toward older people.
Interpersonal relations	Finds it difficult to relate emotionally to peers. Manipulates them for own, anxiety-relieving purposes.	Sees other persons and relationship to them in terms of stereotypes. Interpersonal relations usually seen as troubled and strained.	Close emotional ties not usual; tendency to tone of impersonality in closest relationships. No evidence this is because of any inner strains; rather the social norm.	People seen as individuals, not categorized. Respect for individual differences. Interactions between persons depend upon individual choice rather than social "rules."
Motivations and adjustments	Need for more affection or approval; major motivation is to obtain these. Major means of gaining motivations and making emotional adjustments is through social conformity.	Feels that it is her duty to conform to the demands of the world about her, and that the suppression of personal desires required to do this is necessary.	"To live as a girl with many lovers as long as possible and then to marry in one's own village near one's own relatives and to have many children"—all in good time.	Not impressed with abstract goals or with intellectual achievement for its own sake.

SOURCE: Reprinted from "Effects of Sex Role and Social Status on the Early Adolescent Personality," E. Mulin, *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 1949, 40, 233-325. Used by permission of The Journal Press.

Values

As we would expect, physical body factors play a great role in determining status in the junior high school. How a child looks to his peers is highly important. How well he can perform in physical tasks is equally important for boys.

In order to determine status, two techniques have been used. One is the social reputation test, the other is a sociometric device. Sample items from a social reputation test are:

"Which boys are restless and can't sit still, or get up and walk around a lot?

"Which are the ones everybody likes?

"Who are the good sports—the ones that always play fair, and can take it when they lose?" (Hanley, 1951, p. 259).

The sociometric inventory may ask the youngster to name three people with whom he'd like to serve on a committee or go to a dance or see as chairman of an event. It is more situational and the status hierarchy which emerges is partly a function of the particular question asked.

Hanley (1951) used the reputation test originally designed by Tryon (1943) to see if body build had any relationship to the way a youngster was perceived by his peers. We have seen earlier that there should be no expectation of a high relationship between any one variable, such as body build, and something as complex as peers' views of one's behavior. The relationships Hanley found were low, but they do establish that there is a link between how you look and how you are seen. The youngsters whose body build was mesomorphic (highly developed skeletal structure, thick skin, sturdy upright posture, good musculature) were seen as leaders, as daring and willing to take chances, as good at games, as grown-up, and as fighters. The transactional nature of this relationship is fairly clear. This boy looks like the typical "all-American" boy, he does possess the equipment to do well in sports. His peers thus accord him prestige and provide him with a situational field in which he can lead and excel. The organism-environment transactions thus enhance his actual ability, his reputation, and his self-concept. They are mutually reinforcing.

Sociometric evidence supports the view that athletic prowess is highly related to status. Junior high school boys were asked to name

the boys they liked best. Athletic ability for each boy was determined by physical tests, by peer judgment, and by experience in intramural and interscholastic athletics. There was a moderately high relationship between sociometric status and athletic ability, and it was "possible that the boys achieved their popularity through participation in interschool athletics more than any other factor included in this investigation" (McCraw and Tolbert, 1953, p. 79).

A girl's appearance also affects her status. She's not expected to be athletic, but she is expected to be good-looking. Although standards of "good looks" change to some degree with each generation, being considered good-looking by peers is highly important. Table 15.2, compiled from data gathered through social reputation tests by Tryon (1943), shows the place of appearance.

Personality factors are also related to status in early adolescence, and thus reveal the value system. Table 15.2 shows the traits which peers associated with success in peer relations. It reveals the change from pre- to postpubescence in boys. Good looks, enthusiasm, and an already-established reputation as popular become functional as status symbols in the 15-year-old's group.

The popularity of the 15-year-old girl depends heavily upon what might be called the "social skills." She must exude happiness and enthusiasm, and be able to lead. An interesting aspect is the shift in "humor about self." By the time the girl is 15, being able to accept jokes about herself is inversely related to status. She should be unself-conscious or, in Riesman's terms, "other-directed." The more able she is to "take a joke" on herself, the higher her status. This again corresponds with Milner's (1949) and More's (1955) picture of the adolescent girl as one who relates to others in culturally stereotyped ways without the expression of real feelings about self. The outgoing youngster, in Tryon's study, is the one accorded prestige. Gronlund and Anderson found similar results (1957).

These trait names, such as "leader" or "enthusiastic," conceal as much as they reveal. What does an early adolescent do that makes him a leader? What roles must he play and how broad must be his role repertoire? Elkins' (1958) research provides some clues. Sociometric tests, interviews with pupils and parents, diaries of out-of-school activities, open-ended questions (my worries, etc.) were secured. In addition, social class and physical and intelligence test data were obtained on the 90 junior high pupils in the study.

TABLE 15.2**Changes in Status Value with Age and Sex**

Boys	Girls
12 YEARS	
1. Most related to prestige Daring, leader, active in games, friendly.	1. Most related to prestige Popular, good-looking, friendly. Enthusiastic, happy, humor about self.
2. Related to prestige Restless, talkative, attention-getting.	2. Related to prestige Restless, talkative, attention-getting. (Traits in this cluster have very different values for girls and for boys.)
3. Desirable Bossy, fights, unkempt.	3. Irrelevant Daring, leader, humor about jokes.
15 YEARS	
1. Very important Popular, good-looking, friendly, enthusiastic Daring, leader, active in games, fights.	1. Important Tidy, good-looking, older friends. Popular, friendly, enthusiastic, happy, humor about jokes, daring, leader.
2. Some importance Happy, humor about jokes.	2. Related to heterosexual adjustment Active in games, humor about self (inversely related).
3. Irrelevant Restless, talkative, attention-getting.	3. Irrelevant Restless, talkative, attention-getting, bossy, fights.

SOURCE: Reprinted from *The Teacher as a Guidance Worker*, I. J. Gordon, 1956, Harper.

If we view the ability to participate in a variety of activities as equivalent to playing many roles, then we can accept Elkins' conclusions that "children who were flexible in role performance, who had the ability to meet the needs of others, who could further the goals of the group, who displayed certain acceptable behavior pat-

terns, were among the highly chosen. . . . Children who displayed rigidity of role performance, who were unable to meet the needs of peers, who blocked the goals of the group, who displayed certain objectionable behavior patterns, were among the least chosen" (Elkins, 1958, p. 267). In effect, those who were group-oriented were rewarded, those who lacked skills or were not "groupy" were excluded.

There was a relationship between number of activities (seen by Elkins as roles) and status. The high-status boys and girls participated in more activities, were visitors in others' homes, were sought out by others more often, and both gave and received more thoughtful gestures than the lower-status children. This raises the question of what leads a child into this activity pattern.

To some degree, *family background* in both its emotional climate and socioeconomic aspects plays a role. Generally, children of the middle class have more opportunities for learning social skills than do lower-class children. But mobile youngsters going upward socially make it their business to find out how to behave and gain acceptance.

Family climate seemed to be a significant factor not only in the Elkins study but also in one by Feinberg (1953). In both cases, high status was related to a home climate of acceptance of and interest in the youngster as an individual.

Generally, the early adolescent peer group values physical adequacy for boys, group-oriented behavior, high energy rate, good looks and social skills. The youngster who, for physical, familial, or personal reasons, cannot function effectively is ignored and lost in the shuffle. It is a rough league, with little compassion or mercy.

THE PEERS AND SELF-CONCEPT. A poignant picture of the effect of rejection is portrayed by Kit, a Grosvenor student: "My little brother is delicate and has a speech defect. He has a gang of school and street friends. Sometimes the leader of the gang expels him. Nothing upsets him so much as this. Once he was expelled for three days. He sat at home and moped and wouldn't eat or drink. He won't eat much at the best of times but my mother got really worried during these three days. Then the gang had him back and he picked up again in health" (Jordan and Fisher, 1955, p. 150).

That peer acceptance affects the *self-concept* cannot be doubted.

We could easily guess how the successful and unsuccessful view themselves. In addition to our guesses, we have some empirical data, although certainly far from enough. Feinberg reports that "accepted boys considered themselves most successful in getting along with their classmates, and they also felt that they make friends quickly and have many more close friends than most of the boys in their class. . . . In athletics, they felt that they can play most games better than the average person of their own age and sex. . . . The rejected boys considered themselves only average in ability to make new friends. They likewise considered their athletic ability 'about average.' The only two things they thought they could do better than the average person of their own age and sex were to get along with their girl friends and to shoot a gun" (Feinberg, 1953, p. 211).

The transactional nature of the relationship between prestige, self-concept and behavior shows up in still another fashion. It has long been known that some youngsters can "trigger off" group emotions or behavior through an act at a critical moment. This phenomenon of behavioral contagion was investigated in a camp for disturbed boys. Why, when one boy picks up a plate and heaves it, do all the others get into the act?

Using reputation tests among other devices the researchers conclude: "Likelihood of initiating behavioral contagion is a function of: (i) Security to act spontaneously because of perception of own position; (ii) Attributed group position; (iii) Possibility of communicating with the group; (iv) Degree to which individual reactions are representative of common states of needs present in the group. . . .

"Behavior of an individual in a group is a function, at least in part, of the position to which he is assigned. . . . The relative 'prestige' will be a fairly powerful determinant of his own behavior" (Polansky, Lippitt, and Redl, 1950, p. 347).

Prestige position influences self-concept and behavior, and behavior, in turn, plays back into the group system for granting prestige. Once a youngster has a "reputation," his behavior tends to reinforce this image.

The psychologist, parent, teacher, or group worker who understands both this phenomenon and the value system of a particular group can begin to be effective in helping individuals. He cannot

change a child's reputation, but he can help him learn new behaviors which will have this effect. Once a new prestige position is attained, further new behaviors and concepts of self become possible.

Activities

When peer group members get together, what do they do? First, the boys spend considerable time in team games and contact horseplay. Even in class, or in the halls, they push, shove, and wrestle. The girls spend hours on the telephone or in hen parties, slumber parties, and gossip sessions. There is a trend, however, away from the all-boy or all-girl group which typified preadolescence. Heterosexual groups now complement the continuing one-sex group.

With this change, dating enters the picture. It is primarily a group activity in early adolescence. It begins for many youngsters sometime between the ages of 14 and 15 (Lowrie, 1952), but may occur earlier. There are some movie dates, coke dates, parties-in-the-home dates, walking dates, and sports dates. They usually involve several couples and may involve some sex play as couples "pair off."

The original push to date is probably more cultural than biological, however. It is the expected thing to do. In the next chapter we shall see some of the youngsters' concerns about dating.

In Elkins' study, she found the most important activities to be "talking, walking, active games, quiet games, eating together, participating in boy-girl activities, working together, engaging in spectator activities, joking and visiting" (Elkins, 1958, p. 232). Just being with the gang, regardless of the activity, seems to be the significant factor.

Peer group activities during this age serve the value arrangements and status efforts of individual members. They are important in providing youngsters with opportunities to socialize, to demonstrate skills, to gain skills, and to evaluate self and others.

Summary

In this chapter we have examined the interpersonal world of the adolescent and some of the effects this changing world has upon him. We have seen that self-definition is a vital task for this age-group, and that both biological and cultural forces combine to make

this so. In Chapter 16 we shall examine more thoroughly the impact this has upon him, and how he works at the problem of self-definition and development.

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The Changing Self

Conceptual Development

Intellectual Development

The period of early adolescence is characterized by the widening of intellectual pursuits. The child's horizons expand considerably throughout the junior high school years. To list what a "typical" youngster might know is meaningless, because if there is anything typical about his intellectual development, it is that his pattern is unique. The gap between those who do relatively well on intelligence tests and those who do poorly widens during these years, but virtually all youngsters make progress.

Individual growth rates are subject to fluctuations because of the many factors which influence an individual's performance at any given time. Early adolescence seems to be a period in which such fluctuation occurs. Figs. 16.1 and 16.2 indicate individual curves for some boys and girls in the California Growth Study. A 16D score was calculated on the basis of the person's position at age 16 relative to his peers. Scores on intelligence tests were converted on the basis of means (averages) and standards deviations (dispersion around the means), which allowed the researcher to use data from several different tests. In this fashion, a curve of the youngster's own growth, as measured by intelligence tests, could be developed. This curve gives a picture of both his growth as an individual and his relative position. Analysis of Figs. 16.1 and 16.2 for the ages 12 to 16 shows that the boys maintained their relative

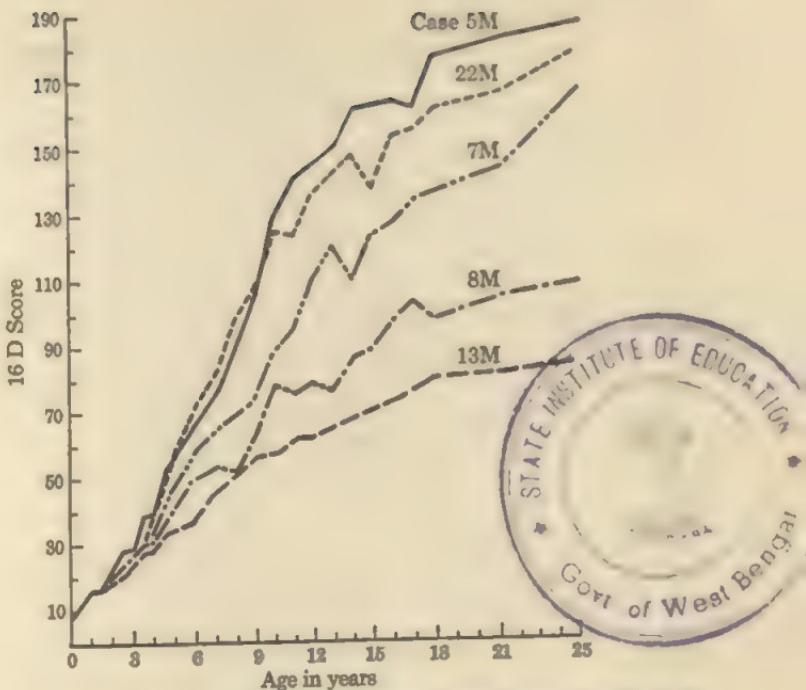


Fig. 16.1. Individual curves of intelligence of five boys. From 1 month to 25 years. (Reprinted from "On the Growth of Intelligence," N. Bayley, *American Psychologist*, 1955, 10, 805-818. Used by permission.)

positions, but 7M and 22M both dipped markedly and recovered. Girls 13F and 5F temporarily changed position while 21F's curve shows great fluctuation from year to year. The long-range trend is upward, though this period is unstable.

Why might this be so? Bayley postulates two main reasons: (1) differences in rate of maturity and (2) differences in inherent capacity (Bayley, 1956, p. 66).

Concerning rates of maturity, we do not find the correlation between physical and mental growth in the expected direction. In fact, "within the individual child his own mental and physical rates of growth are not concomitant. If anything, there is a suggestion that those who are slower in physical maturing approach their 21-year intelligence sooner" (Bayley, 1956, p. 71).

We are dealing here with *rate* of growth, not *amount* of intelli-

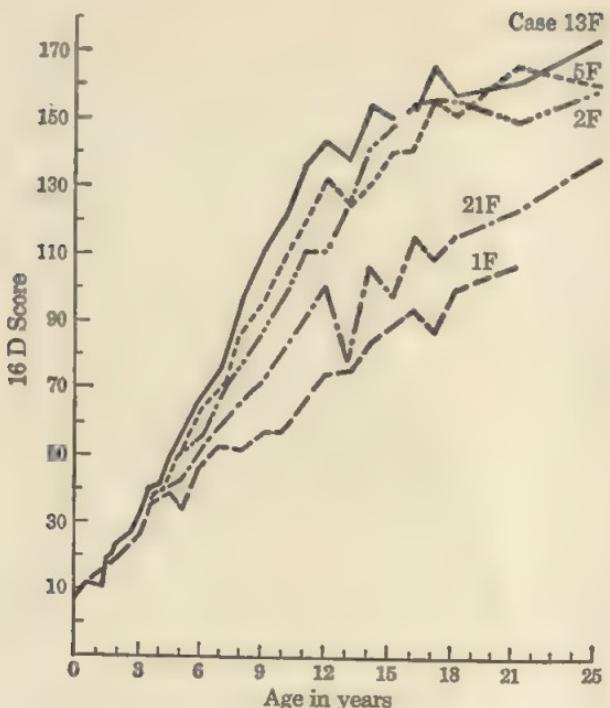


Fig. 16.2. Individual curves of intelligence of five girls. From 1 month to 25 years. (Reprinted from "On the Growth of Intelligence," N. Bayley, *American Psychologist*, 1955, 10, 805-818. Used by permission.)

gence. The child who grows slower physically seems to reach his adult level of intelligence sooner, although his adult level may be less than that of his rapidly developing peer. It may be that the relationship exists because of a third factor, socio-economic class. Lower-class youngsters seem to suffer from experiential, dietary, and prenatal deprivation which might influence both physical and intellectual development.

The effect of social class on intellectual performance in junior high is illustrated by E. Phillips' (1950) study which revealed that lower-class youngsters do poorer on intelligence tests than do their middle-class classmates.

The relationships are extremely complex because so many other variables contribute to the intelligence test score. We know that range in physical and physiological development is wide during

these years; therefore, we would expect, if there is a rate at which intelligence grows, that the range would also be wide.

Overlaid upon this biological base are the myriad factors which become organized into the self of the individual child. "They will include the emotional climate in which he grows; whether he is encouraged or discouraged, whether his drive (or ego-involvement) is strong in intellectual thought processes, or is directed toward other aspects of his life-field. And they will include the material environment in which he grows: the opportunities for experience and for learning, and the extent to which these opportunities are continuously geared to his capacity to respond and make use of them" (Bayley, 1955, pp. 813-814).

In other words, the intelligence of a junior high youngster (or any person) is a function of his total self-system at a given moment. His own particular organization of his transactional field, including his self-concept, determines the way he will perform. In this way, both biological and sociopsychological factors are integrated, and his performance is an expression of this integration.

Two major conclusions emerge: (1) The interindividual range of intellectual ability becomes increasingly wider during the early adolescent period. (2) Each child's rate of intellectual growth, based upon his own particular unique organization (his self-system), may be irregular for short periods of time, but follows an upward trend reaching beyond this age period. Any notion that the 15-year-old has reached his final point in intellectual development is not supported by the data. He has perhaps reached about 80 percent of his adult status.

Two case studies illustrate this fluctuation perhaps even more clearly than Figs. 16.1 and 16.2. One girl scored as follows: at 12, IQ of 118; at 13, a score of 90; at 14, 110; and at 15, 99. A boy of 10 scored 170; by 13 his score had dropped to 148; at 14 it was back up to 160; and by 16 it had gone down to about 135 (Bayley, 1949). Granted that, in the case of the boy, these are all "good" scores; they still reflect considerable variability. In the girl's case, she shifts from what is considered high average to low normal in one year.

We should, therefore, avoid diagnosing or predicting from any single score on tests taken during this age period. We must be especially wary because of the many cultural pressures to identify the "gifted" and accord him special treatment in the secondary

school. Since rate of maturity seems to be a factor, we might very well expect some youngsters to temporarily lose ground in relation to their peers and then gain substantially later on. The major factor of motivation, too, is often overlooked when judgments are made upon such slim evidence as a single IQ score. Especially in early adolescence, with so much happening to the total self of the child, selection or stigmatization on the basis of IQ scores seems unwarranted.

The Developing Value System

The early adolescent is concerned with value judgments and with the question: How should one behave? He writes to the advice-giving newspaper columnists; he sees the discrepancies in the adult world; and he seeks solutions to moral questions. What concepts does he hold about the right thing to do?

Many researchers have asked the adolescent that question—usually by presenting him with a problem, and then asking him to either give an undirected answer or select an alternative. A sample problem would be: Joe's parents want him in by 10 P.M., but all his friends are staying out until 11 P.M. He thinks he can get in without being detected because his parents are out for the evening. What should he do? (Morris, 1958).

The first conclusion we can reach from the various studies is that there is a discrepancy between *should* and *would*. These youngsters seem to *know* what is right; they have, as Beller puts it, "internalized the norms" (Beller, 1949, p. 149). There has been continued development of recognition of the social norm, the origins of which began during preadolescence. However, when it comes to behavior, knowledge of the norm is an insufficient predictor of an individual's response. Second, there is increasing individuality of judgment. The individual becomes more consistent with age. The interindividual differences also increase.

A study of conceptions of honesty in relation to private property found that 24 percent of 184 eighth and ninth-graders felt it was "OK" to steal if not caught, although 12 percent would not steal under any circumstance. The remaining 64 percent would steal depending upon the situation. They would steal more readily from a corporation than an individual, although they expressed fear about the power of the large corporation to find them out. Thus, the im-

personal corporation is separated from people. Perhaps they have heard about the way some people fill out tax forms, in which the government is viewed impersonally and is thus "fair game." An interesting finding is that these youngsters would more readily steal a manufactured object than a tool (Stendler, 1949). Perhaps they have already learned the great value placed upon production in the American culture.

Third, moral judgment depends not only upon the situation, but also the cultural patterns of a society. Morris concludes, on the basis of his survey of the literature as well as his research in London and Manchester, England schools, that there are "social-class differences in 'moral realism' and differences in 'moral realism' between some primitive societies and modern industrial societies" (Morris, 1948, p. 1).

Honesty, however, is certainly not the only indicator of moral behavior. What else do early adolescents perceive as "good" and "bad"? New York junior high school children were asked to rate the seriousness of behavior problems of children. Both boys and girls agreed that stealing was the most serious act. Boys listed truancy, cruelty (bullying), and destroying school materials as the next three; girls in seventh grade rated profanity as second, followed by cruelty and destruction of school materials. By the eighth grade, slovenliness and impudence had moved up to third and fourth place for girls (Ritholz, 1959).

To Japanese junior high school boys, the most important moral quality is courage. They seem to have a somewhat better idea of what is bad rather than what is good. The researcher laments that sometimes it seems these youngsters confused courage with stubbornness! (Ken-Ichiro, 1959). Perhaps he is observing the emergence of a peer culture in which the old Samurai tradition is being reworked into a new adolescent interpretation. We know the American teen-ager also values courage—categorizing those who lack it as "chicken." It may be that courage emerges as a value not only because of cultural factors but also because of the new demands of the body.

Early adolescence has often been cited as a time in which youngsters begin to doubt their religious heritage and become cynical. It has been seen as a time of conflict between parent and child over attendance at church services as well as belief. The combination of

emerging sexual strivings versus the "thou shalt nots" of parents and preachers and the ongoing struggle for independence leads to conflict within the child. We saw in Chapter 15 that the child now can view his parent more distinctly; he looks at religion in the same way. This is not to imply that he becomes irreligious, but it does mean that he moves from an *unquestioning* belief to a search for personal belief based upon his own experiences and interpretations.

Actually, by late adolescence he has often arrived at a more orthodox position than the one held by his parents. It is important that his efforts to understand be encouraged and guided rather than restricted and rejected. That this concerns many early adolescents is borne out by the results of one of the Purdue Opinion Polls in which about one-fifth of ninth-graders indicated they had concerns about living up to their religion and problems in defining standards of right and wrong. Eight percent indicated confusion about religious belief (Remmers and Radler, 1957).

Generally, the early adolescent examines values more carefully and thoughtfully than the preadolescent. His value system is based upon his own organization of parental, community, and peer values and resembles, at least verbally, the adult world. If there is a difference, it lies in the particular interpretations he makes in the meaning of an adult value. Courage, honesty, and religion are merely cases in point, not the totality of his values. His perceptions of other groups and his perceptions of the world as idealistic or materialistic are screened through his own unique experience.

As we noted in relation to physical and intellectual development, the time of early adolescence is marked by increasing differences in the development of an integrated individual-value system. The early adolescent makes increasing differentiations in his field, and looks at events in a particularistic rather than a total fashion. Thus, his behavior, which reflects his value system, often depends upon the immediate situation and especially the presence or absence of peer group members.

Except in certain delinquent groups, the early adolescent views acts which hurt individuals as repugnant. He has developed to the point where he sees others as having needs, rights, and privileges of their own, which he will not purposely violate. In turn, he will vigorously defend himself against what he perceives to be violations of his individual integrity. This seems to be a part of what Ken-

Ichiro might have labeled stubbornness. This value placed on the individual probably reflects his growing sense of self-awareness.

Developing Interests

READING. The development of reading-interest patterns in junior high school continues, though interestingly enough, these patterns seem to emerge earlier now. Formerly, early adolescents read science fiction and career books; now these are read by the preadolescent. Nowadays the young teen-ager seeks books that used to be read in high school. Girls look for books about developing "personality," poise, and all the other manifestations of the social graces. This seems to be another indication of the movement toward behaving in "other-directed," externally appropriate patterns; this may be evidence of the trend toward conformity.

Boys read biography (but *not* about women!), history, and books of high adventure and athletic prowess. Girls' interests are in the direction of books about home and family life, biographies mostly of women, and milder adventure stories. We can see in these choices the role played by sex-identification as well as the use of reading to enhance a youngster's sense of self.

Wickens' (1960) survey of reading research reveals that the junior high school years are a turning point. Although it is the age of maximum reading, it is also the age when reading begins to decrease in quantity. The avid reader continues to read many books but, on the average, the number decreases in the ninth grade. The pressures of social life, increased homework, great needs for bodily activity, and diversification of interests are all possible reasons for this pattern. The youngster just gets involved in so many things that he cannot sustain them all at an increasing pace.

There may be another explanation. It may be that many of the books the early teen-ager would prefer to read are categorized in libraries as "adult" or are not purchased by school libraries. There were several incidents in 1960 in which books were removed from high school libraries because of adult pressure. Could it be that we underestimate many of these youngsters and try to force-feed them "children's books" when they are both intellectually and developmentally ready to read adult works? Taking our transactional view into consideration, it may be the culture has exposed them to and given them information through the mass media that other genera-

tions did not possess. This may serve not only to stimulate many to read, but also to read different books. Perhaps a survey of paperback books would reveal data we could not know from library studies. It may be that the amount of reading has not decreased, but the use of the library as the main source for reading materials has been supplemented by the drugstore paperback rack.

VOCATIONAL INTERESTS. As a result of National Defense Education Act legislation in the late 1950s, there has been much discussion of and emphasis upon vocational guidance. Some people have advocated that youngsters in junior high be separated on the basis of ability and interest into different programs, or "tracks," which would lead to specific kinds of work in high school. Some have felt that youngsters should make decisions early with regard to their future careers, so that they could save time and get started early. How realistic are these expectations in the light of the evidence about the development of vocational interests?

We can answer this question along two lines: (1) the level and type of vocational interest and (2) the accuracy of self-estimate. First, we again find the phenomenon of individuality. Thompson, in a symposium on occupational information for junior high school youth, summed up the research as follows: "Junior high students exhibit a fairly wide range of vocational development: some are ready for work, having already sampled work activities through after-school jobs; some are thinking about long-term plans; most are thinking more about educational than vocational problems; some are uninterested or unable to concern themselves with career planning. The modal stage is probably characterized by 'thinking about the planning for high school careers' so far as future planning is concerned" (Thompson, 1960, pp. 116-117).

This would suggest that any expectation of readiness on the part of all but a few junior high students to make realistic decisions is unwarranted. Super's research bolsters this position. On the basis of research utilizing school records, testing, and interviews, he reports: "Our typical ninth grade boys, in a typical small city high school, with a typical guidance program, were at a stage of vocational development which is characterized by readiness to consider problems of prevocational and vocational choice but also by a

general lack of readiness to make vocational choices" (Super, 1960, p. 108).

The tests used in junior high school for measuring interests are usually either the Strong Vocational Interest Blank or the Kuder Preference Record. Although we are not concerned here with test construction or validation, it is perhaps advisable to state that scores on the Kuder change more in high school than do those on the Strong. Vocational interests are still variable, and the junior high youngster has not "made up his mind."

Second, how well does the early adolescent know himself in terms of vocational interest? The characteristic pattern for early adolescents seems to be highly governed by what they view as self-enhancing. Their needs for prestige and achievement affect their views of their interests, as judged by others and by tests. Their wishes seem to center around looks, stature, age, and mental capacity (Cobb, 1954) rather than upon actual vocations.

For example, in a Catholic day school in Boston, over 1,000 boys were asked to make self-estimates on vocational interests in grades nine through twelve. The Kuder Preference Record, which we know to be subject to variability in high school, was also administered. Ninth-graders were not particularly accurate ($r = .44$) in rating themselves (O'Hara and Tiedeman, 1959).

A study at the Illinois University High School (a selected "gifted" population) showed that 15-year-old girls were more variable than the boys on vocational prestige needs and vocational tenacity. Further, youngsters who set high vocational aspirations for themselves tended to ignore the facts. The discrepancy between their scores on the Kuder and those of people in the professions they wished to follow was substantial. We have the picture then, especially in boys, of high prestige needs related to an unreal view of themselves. In addition, these youngsters scored high in tenacity, a measure of their desire to surmount obstacles (Ausubel, Schiff, and Zeleny, 1953). Although this study was conducted with tenth-graders, they might still be considered early adolescents, and any conclusions would most likely hold for youngsters in grades seven to nine.

What does this mean? Junior high school students are not aware of the interest patterns of adults in various professions. Their own estimates of their interests do not correspond with the interest

patterns of people in their chosen fields, as measured by the Kuder. This "inaccuracy" can be seen as a function of their development, their experiences, and perhaps most significantly, of their needs for self-enhancement. We should not assume that this "vocational unreality," to borrow Ausubel's term, is necessarily an indication of poor adjustment. It might be better understood as an indicator of the lack of significance the 15-year-old still attaches to adult concepts of the world of work. He is still more interested in other things. He does not view the future in terms of actuality, but through the perceptual distortion of wish-fulfillment.

The degree of tenacity might be part of this lack of understanding when obstacles are surmountable and when they indicate that goals need to be modified. The early adolescent boy's vocational slogan might well be the old Latin motto, *Ad astra per aspera*—to the stars through difficulties. Such a motto can represent abundant enthusiasm and high adventure, a lack of knowledge of self and world, or a combination. It is probably the latter.

In general, the early adolescent's vocational interests indicates that adults should not expect youngsters to make vocational decisions by the ninth grade. Such decisions, for many youngsters, would bind them to choices that are unrealistically high or prevent the exploration that is so necessary to a final and wise personal judgment. Rather, interest patterns should be used to see how the early adolescent views his world, and to then provide opportunities for him to explore so that he can make clearer differentiations. Only as he broadens his experiences can he move toward realistic vocational choice.

The Self-Concept

We have seen how the early adolescent views others, and how he views certain aspects of self (body, values, interests). We have learned about the growth of his self-system's potentialities for experiencing and conceiving (physical and intellectual development). Now we can examine the state of the central core of his self, his self-concept.

Three questions form the basis of our analysis: (1) How does he conceive of himself? and, as a corollary, how accurate is this view? (2) In the light of the variability both within and between individuals

which is characteristic of this period of development, how stable is his image? (3) What is the effect of his self-concept on behavior?

How Does He Conceive of Himself?

Just what ideas do early adolescents hold of themselves? Attempts to answer this question have been made through the obvious means of asking them (questionnaires, interviews, essays, problem check lists) as well as through projective techniques. The one great weakness of these approaches is that they are all verbal and perhaps overlook the many nonverbal means by which the adolescent makes himself known to peers and adults. Nevertheless, these techniques provide us with a view of how the youngster looks at himself.

BOYS. Milner (see Chapter 15) has been perhaps the most imaginative in stating her findings. Projecting herself into the boy and girl, she writes personal documents as though the youngsters wrote them themselves. In essence, she has the boy say:

I want to get the approval of others, particularly my parents. I know that the way I can do this is to behave the way they want me to behave, which means controlling how I express my anger, hostility and aggressions. But this is very hard for me to do and my lack of emotional control makes me feel guilty and unhappy. These tensions keep me from using efficiently what mental abilities I have. I'm certainly not going to let others see that I'm worried . . . so I pretend I don't care about anything. . . .

I don't like my teachers and I show it. . . .

I still think I'm the center of the universe and that I should be given whatever I want. The things I feel inside are okay just as they are: why should I try to change myself because others want me to?

But if I don't change, my folks won't approve of me, so I guess I'd better try. . . .

I don't like many people, but when I do like someone, I let them know I like 'em. I think my friends get a kick out of me when I sass our teacher or mimic for them the way the principal talks. But it doesn't matter much to me if kids my own age want to be friends or not: there are always older or younger kids I can pal around with [Milner, 1949, p. 281].

Milner's picture of self was compiled from a variety of data, including projective techniques. Does the more direct self-report result in a similar picture? When asked to rank items on their resemblance to themselves, Canadian ninth-graders do not reveal the tension and hostility shown above. Over half the boys ($N = 190$ boys, 194 girls)

rated the following items as true of themselves: being honest, truthful, loyal to friends, kind, getting along with others, capable of looking after self, liking parents, being happy, and having many friends. About 40 percent of the boys indicated restlessness and envy of others, but only a small group (16) expressed conflict with teachers. If there was any area of concern, it was not over controlling feelings and interpersonal relations; it was concern over the physical body—being attractive, being able to dance, and being the right height and weight (Taschuk, 1957).

In spontaneous statements boys express concern over relationships with siblings and interest in individual relationships with peers.

It may be that the apparent discrepancy between Milner's statement and the self-report type of data merely reflects the source of information. If Milner is correct in saying that boys conceal their real feelings, then we can see why they report themselves as resembling those who take the Boy Scout oath: trustworthy, loyal, kind, considerate, etc.

It seems to be easier for boys to express concern over their bodies than over their more intimate feelings. The Purdue Opinion Poll, using a combination check list and blank page for problems, found that over 50 percent of ninth grade boys and girls indicated problems in connection with their bodies. The only other percentages approaching this (and other data indicate that girls contributed more to these percentages than boys) related to temper, worry about little things, feelings about not being as smart as others, and heterosexual relationships. Of course, a problem check list needs interpretation, because our concern is with the more central self-concept. The mere fact that about 30 percent indicate problems of temper and worry does not tell us much about the other 70 percent. Do they feel secure and adequate in self-control? Or do they see this as insignificant to their self-view? We get no indication of the relative importance of these problems to the individual boy or girl.

Perhaps the best we can say is that most boys report favorably on themselves. They indicate concerns about their bodies, suggesting that they have not yet resolved their body image. Their other statements indicate that they have differentiated their perceptual world into two major environmental anchorage points: the family and the peer culture. Of these two, they are still clarifying their view of themselves in relation to peers, especially opposite-sex peers. On the

whole, they see themselves as adequate, but a substantial number recognize their needs to control feelings and meet cultural demands.

Another indication of the significance these anchorage points hold in the early adolescent's self-concept can be gleaned from Brown's (1957) study of Alberta, Canada junior high school students. He found important relationships between a youngster's attitudes toward self and his perception of significant others, particularly peers and parents. These children, in other words, saw resemblances between self and the people who they deemed important. There was no sex difference. Correlations between self and adults and self and peers did not differ in degree. Although correlations were positive and significant, they were not so high as to conclude that boys and girls saw themselves as merely carbon copies of the people around them.

In early adolescence, youngsters have differentiated their view of themselves sufficiently to see themselves as unique and individual, but also as bearing some resemblance to others. Our earlier discussions of the identification process would suggest that this is yet another stage. It might be that the boy or girl is saying: "I'm me, and no one else but me. However, I know that some of what I am I've learned to be from other people. I recognize that we have some things in common, but I'm not just like them. I may not be special in any way—a 'standout' or anything like that, but, just like Popeye, 'I yam what I yam.'"

GIRLS. This image of selfhood and relationship to others is not confined, of course, to boys. However, girls seem to experience more tension in establishing their self-identity. Let us again turn to Milner for a beginning picture:

I have never had enough love and affection and I want it desperately. But my world is hostile, punishing and unloving; it is not giving me the love I need. Before I can get even a little bit of approval, I must be good, I must do what my parents and teachers tell me to do. But this is very hard for me because I often don't want to do what I am told, or I want to do what I know I'll be punished for doing. . . .

I find some relief from my worries in daydreaming of when I'll be important and happy or of having magical power. It also relieves me to keep busy doing simple routine jobs like cleaning my room or doing the mending. Sometimes I feel so tense that I can't do anything at all; all I can do is hang onto myself so I won't fly apart. And many times I feel that I'm just no good, worthless, so what's the use of trying at all anymore?

So I've trained myself to control and suppress such feelings [aggression, curiosity about boys], even though it makes me feel tense and unhappy to do so.

I'm so used to suppressing my feelings that it's hard to become emotionally tied to anyone. But I stay on good terms with the other kids so I can get them to do a lot of things for me [Milner, 1949, p. 280].

The picture she portrays is one of searching for selfhood in a family and cultural setting in which feelings must be submerged. In such circumstances, the girl cannot really experience herself for what she is or might become. Her perceptions are reduced by threat, and her behavior evidences the lack of personal integration. This lack of self-acceptance depicted by Milner is supported by Roff. She used the Q-Sort technique with girls of 11, 14, 17, and 20. The girls sorted statements for self, ideal self, and mother. Roff reports that not only does self-satisfaction decline throughout adolescence, but also that self-mother identification declines, reaching a low at age 17 (Roff, 1959).

Again, the Canadians studied by Taschuk (1957) present a more optimistic picture. Self-reports showed that about half the girls perceived the following items as being true about themselves: being honest, kind, friendly, self-reliant, truthful, loyal to friends, being able to get along with both sexes, being a good sport, and being dependable. Only about one-third of the girls expressed feelings of being stubborn or daydreaming too much. We can see that they present themselves as the very model of good behavior. The emphasis on getting along well with others is reinforced by Dales's (1955) findings that girls are more concerned than boys with group relations.

What can we say, then, about the self-concept of early adolescent girls? The main theme seems to be the search for acceptance. She seeks acceptance not only from adults, but from peers. Yet she wants to keep her distance, too. She doesn't really want to be "known." Her relationships are somewhat shallow and superficial. She reports a higher percentage of problems in the area of emotions and personal self-acceptance than does the boy.

In the many questions she asks about how to conduct herself on dates, she reveals her concept of self. She is not sure of "how far to go," and lacks the internal value system to make the decision. She wants to be told what is acceptable, and she will do what is accept-

able for the sake of popularity, whether she *feels* it's right or not. What she wants is an external rule book to make up for the lack of confidence in the validity of her own experience. To kiss or not to kiss a boy on a first date is for her a social rather than an emotional, internal decision. To pet or not to pet, to go steady or not, may, thus, become social questions.

One difference between the self-concept of boys and girls during early adolescence would seem to be their concept of their own individual worth. We might speculate that boys conceive of themselves as more independent, more valued, and more worthy than do the girls. The boy seems to be more secure in that he seems to have fewer problems. This does not mean he is without feelings of tension and doubt; it just means that he's probably in better shape than his sister.

"IDEAL" SELF. Both boys and girls are still dealing with the as-yet-unfinished task of defining self. They are still finding out about areas of themselves and about interpersonal relationships. We know how important identification is to them; we have seen how their needs for prestige, acceptance, and achievement color their views of their world. Another way in which they use identification in developing their self-concepts is through the creation of an "ideal." They select people, either real or fictional, and engage in both "hero-worship" and emulation.

In early adolescence, the hero is often a glamorous, romantic adult, or one who is invested with glamor. Each generation seems to have its version of the Pied Piper of Hamlin, the musician who attracts a following. It may be that the same parents who jitterbugged to Sinatra and the name bands of immediate pre-World War II years are the loudest objectors to Presley and his fellow rock 'n' roll singers of the late 1950s. This glamor is not confined to the male singer, it applies to the movie or TV actress, particularly if her appearance is perceived by girls as representing the height of femininity. Through identification, the girl learns the pattern for boy-girl behavior, at least as depicted by Hollywood.

By the end of early adolescence or the beginning of late adolescence (roughly age 16), boys and girls have changed their ideal—as revealed by essays on the person I would like to be like—from a particular adult to a composite image of many persons whom they've

actually known and these heroes of the early teens (Havighurst *et al.*, 1946, 1955).

How Accurate Is Self-Concept?

When we examined vocational interests earlier in this chapter, we noted that youngsters were not particularly accurate in judging whether their interests paralleled those of people in their prospective professions. This may be partially due to their lack of knowledge and experience. But, how well can they estimate themselves in those areas in which they already have had opportunity to compare self with other? It is in these areas that we can get a better indication of the role of self as an organizer and selector of perceptions.

Self-estimates of *scholastic ability* and *school achievement*, in the studies cited earlier by Ausubel *et al.* (1953) and O'Hara and Tiedeman (1959), were far from accurate when 14- and 15-year-olds were asked to look at their over-all ability. The Illinois study illustrates the pattern: girls showed much more variability than boys; "individuals who tended to overestimate past performance also tended to have relatively high academic aspirations for the future in terms of past performance" (Ausubel *et al.*, 1953, p. 159); and teachers and pupils disagreed on their estimates of pupil ability. It is not merely that early adolescents are *inaccurate*, individual adolescents are *systematically so*.

This is true not only when students are asked to report generally about their ability, but also when they are asked to estimate specific performance. Brandt's study (described in Chapter 13) again shows the superiority of boys over girls in accuracy of self-estimate of academic achievement. However, there was no sex difference on estimates of physical ability and social reputations. We might infer, from all we've said about the varying impacts of schooling and cultural demands upon boys and girls, that the difference in their responses is partially due to threat. Girls are *supposed* to be good, to follow directions, and to do their work. We have seen that early adolescent girls are torn between meeting this cultural demand and the internal pressures to do what they'd like to do. They tend to devalue themselves, and this may show up in their greater inaccuracy of estimate of scholastic achievement.

On the other hand, both sexes are caught in the redefinition of

physical and social aspects of self. We would, therefore, expect them not to differ, and they do not.

Taschuk (1957) and Brandt (1958) both found that the various aspects of self-estimate were related to each other. This seems to indicate that in back of the discrete self-concepts there is an organizing or integrating factor. These interrelationships were not high, but they were positive and significant far beyond chance. It is this integrating factor which we have labeled the self-concept. Self-estimates in early adolescence (and all through life) are functions of this self-concept and the total organization of the self. The degree of accuracy of a given youngster's self-estimate seems to be more a function of his self-concept than a function of the particular ability or characteristic he is asked to rate. He seems to generalize from the inside out rather than from the specific outside characteristics inward to the self.

How Stable Is the Self-Concept?

Is the early adolescent's view of himself reliable as a predictor of how he will see himself a few years later? Is there any consistency at this time?

The extent of stability seems to be related to the amount of positive view already held by the individual boy or girl. We may hypothesize that if, as a youngster entering adolescence, I feel good about myself, the chances are I will become more positive in my view, and more consistent, too. If I enter adolescence with a negative view of myself, then my opinion of myself becomes unstable. I'm not sure of myself, and so I "latch on" to cues from my gang and other people which tell me how they see me. I shift my view to take into account their ideas, and so I don't stay the same. I may end up thinking I'm better or worse, but at least I change.

Boys and girls were asked to rate themselves on a five-point scale on attitudes toward authority in the home, school, and peer group. We know there is a relationship between attitudes toward self and attitudes toward significant others, so we can infer self-concept. When chronological age (14 to 16) was used as a variable, there was considerable fluctuation by year in both boys and girls. Generally, the boys tended to move toward an independent view of authority and the girls toward a more conforming position. This tends to bolster the evidence about the external orientation of the adolescent

girl which we have seen throughout this and the preceding chapter.

When the data were examined on physical maturity and social-class variables, a somewhat different result emerged. As we would expect, the early maturing, upper-middle-class girl was the most conforming. The late-maturing boys divided: upper-class boys saw themselves as freer of school and peer authority; lower-class boys perceived of themselves as most conforming. The average for all groups fell on the conforming side of the scale (Tuma and Livson, 1960).

Tyler analyzed self-reports of 30 boys in the California group at ages 11, 13, and 17. By comparing the various ratings they made on themselves as they grew, he concluded: "It is believed that the nature of the results reported is not favorable to the hypothesis of a high degree of stability in the adolescent's reported self-concept" (Tyler, 1957, p. 225).

What can we conclude? First, this is a period of instability in physical and intellectual growth. It is also a period of instability in definition of self. Second, this instability is *selective*. Youth does not become generally unstable. Some youngsters, particularly those with positive views, maintain their self-image and, if they change, change in the direction of a more positive position. In judging any individual boy or girl, the safest path is to view his self-concept as influencing his current behavior, but not as necessarily predictive of future self-concept. We might end with those famous last words: further research is needed.

Self-Concept and Behavior

The empirical evidence demonstrating direct connections between self-concept (as measured by self-report or other testing techniques) and behavior (as judged by outsiders) is extremely limited and somewhat conflicting.

We find, for instance, evidence of relationships between anxiety and fantasy as measured by TAT, personality scales, and the self-reports of boys and girls. The youngsters who expressed dissatisfaction with self and others also showed anxiety (Phillips *et al.*, 1960), and those whose fantasy productions on the TAT were inferred as indicating certain attitudes toward self in the family also tended to report these same attitudes (Calogeras, 1958).

Suggestions of relationships between self-concept and behavior can also be found in a Columbus, Ohio study of delinquency. The

question often asked by laymen and students alike is: why do some youngsters growing up in high-delinquency areas become law abiding while others become delinquent? Reckless and his colleagues (1956) found the difference lies in self-concept. They found that the nondelinquent boy saw himself as obedient to adults, was stricter about right and wrong than the delinquent, and was concerned about the reaction of others. In general, he had insulated himself against delinquency by taking over as a part of his self the values of significant nondelinquent others.

These studies fit into the theoretical view that positive self-concepts allow the person to be more open to his world while negative views restrict the perceptual field. When the person is anxious, he tends to deal with the more immediate. He develops what has been labeled "tunnel vision" or constriction of perception. His anxiety is associated with dissatisfaction not only with self but with others. He tends to generalize and to take his negative self-image into the immediate situation. Thus, the relationship between "reality" and self-concept, especially for the negative self-viewer, seems highly tenuous.

On the other hand, Tyler (1957) did not find any relationship between self-concept (self-report) and other indices of adjustment. He found no connection between stability of self-concept and adjustment as determined by external observers.

We have mentioned previously the discrepancies between teachers' views of ability, achievement, and interest and the self-reports of early adolescents. Does this mean that there is only a limited relationship between self-concept and performance? Or is it more likely that teachers and adolescents are using different criteria for judgment? It may be simply that teachers are inaccurate and fail to recognize different types of behavior. Whatever the reasons may be, our theoretical position is that there is a positive relationship between self-concept and behavior, but that the research on early adolescents to date is incomplete.

Summary

In this chapter, we have examined the development of intelligence, interests, values, and self-concept in early adolescence. We have seen that these are not independent developments, but are all related to each other and to the physical development and body image dis-

cussed in Chapter 14. These various developments are all integrated and organized as a result of the functioning of the previously developed self-system and its more highly integrated core, the self-concept. Since the self is an open system, in constant transaction with its environment, it is subject to modification. The early adolescent period is a major period for such modification. Because the early adolescent experiences changes both within and without his skin, his self goes through a reorganization stage. Preadolescence was characterized by movement toward integration; early adolescence might be seen as a period of increased differentiation, instability, and reintegration. The general view the youngster holds of self and world has not necessarily changed fundamentally, but many bits of information formerly not perceived or integrated now become part of the self.

A most important generalization emerging from the data is the systematic way in which the individual boy or girl selects both internal and external events from the welter of stimuli to include into his self-system. This seems to be more than a chance operation, and suggests the presence of organizing processes by which the person is able to maintain and enhance his ongoing self-system. His uniqueness in all aspects of his existence is unquestionable; his organization and his self belong to him alone.

By the end of early adolescence, the period of readjustment enters a new phase: reintegration. The metamorphosis, physiologically and in many other ways, is essentially complete. Youth now turns to the job of building upon the newly broadened self. He begins to work on becoming adult.

We also saw, in this chapter, that our theory is ahead of our data. The need for careful, rigorous research must be emphasized. We have made a number of hypotheses in the above chapter and have used others hypotheses (such as Milner's). These should open up numerous ideas for research.

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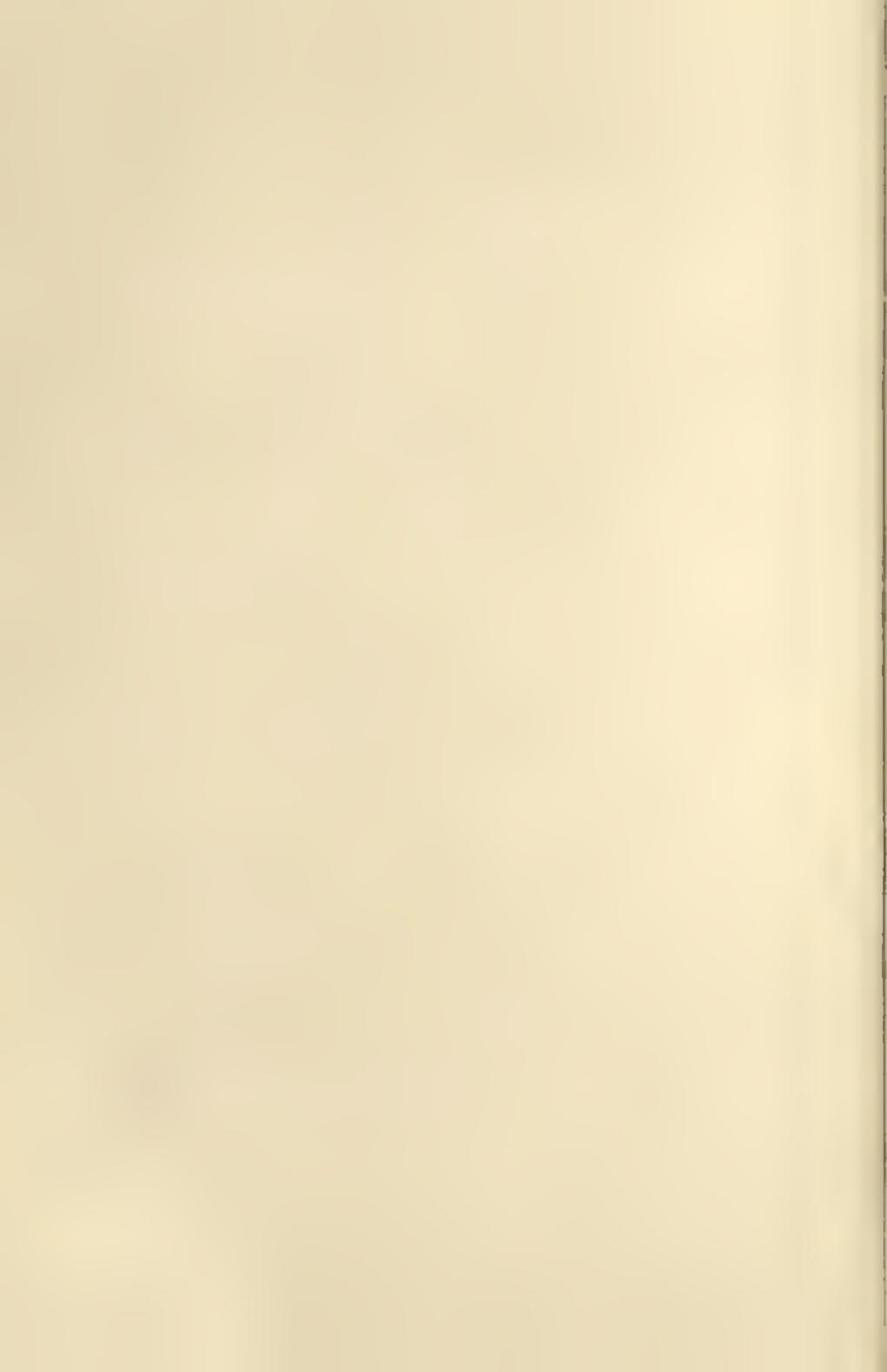
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Part Six

Becoming Adult



The Late Adolescent Years

*Let us now in youth rejoice,
None can justly blame us.
For when golden youth has fled
And in age our joys are dead
Then the dust doth claim us.*

—Medieval student song

The Establishment of Physical Stability

Perhaps the most important aspect of physical development in late adolescence is the establishment of stability. By and large, the years from 15 to about 20 are ones in which the body re-establishes its equilibrium.

The rapid growth spurt is over for most children and final heights are essentially reached by the end of high school. Of course, some boys are still not at their ultimate height, but only a very few are still in early adolescence in terms of physical development by the time they reach 18.

The erratic pattern of peaks of great activity and valleys of lethargy diminish for both boys and girls and, in addition, for girls the normal menstrual cycle becomes established at about 28 days. Both sexes arrive, physiologically, at a more even keel by the end of late adolescence.

The following discussion of the significance of physical stability

is a theoretical account of its meaning to the adolescent and not a description based upon empirical data. In order to test these ideas, a series of hypotheses would need to be deduced from them and then data collected and analyzed. Such data could be gathered through self-reporting techniques, projective devices, interviews, and compositions. Our purpose here is to raise ideas, with the understanding that our knowledge is incomplete.

With this regularization of function, some of the adolescent's concerns over his own body can be alleviated. With the arrival of sexual maturity, and before the establishment of stability, the boy is plagued by the lack of control and predictability in relation to his genitalia. Both the occurrence of nocturnal emissions and unaccountable (to him) erections prove embarrassing. The lack of a pattern plagues him. Similarly, the girl cannot control changes in mood which occur irregularly, but which are related to her menstrual cycle.

The awkwardness of the gangling early adolescent, caused by both physical and social factors, gives way to the grace of maturity. When the person's final proportions (leg-trunk ratio) are established, and endocrine function becomes essentially stabilized, the adolescent's assurance and confidence in his own body returns, and he handles himself more efficiently.

Establishment of stability, although it originates in the physiology of the organism, is thus a psychobiological process. By the end of adolescence, the youngster feels he can "count on" his body to perform in certain ways. He perceives himself as possessed of unlimited energy. He has an optimistic view of the limits to which he can test his body resources. He demands much of his body, and it meets his demands. If there is ever a time in life in which it seems as though the candle can be burned at both ends, it is now. Sleep seems unnecessary; "partying" and thrill-seeking are highly valued.

Testing bodily limits becomes a sport in high school. Not only do youngsters skip sleep on special occasions, such as New Year's Eve or the graduation dance, but they also try whatever they perceive as "adult" pleasures—alcohol, tobacco, sex, and even dope. They see who can hold his breath until he "passes out"; they take "bennys" (benzedrine) to study for exams; they try odd food combinations. They test their limits in as many ways as they can.

This is not just "thrill-seeking." The adolescent has just passed

through a period in which he could not count on his body. Now he seeks to find out all he can about what his body will "take." This is a part of the process of establishing stability; it is a part of his learning to accept and use his changing body.

Part of this acceptance of the body by the adolescent involves the acceptance of difference both from others and from one's ideal. When youngsters reach their final height, two individuals may be mature, but may still differ by as much as 10 to 12 inches. To some degree, previous differences may have been due to differential rates of maturity. Now, these differences will remain.

The boy who dreamed that he'd "catch up" is faced with the task of acceptance of his final height; others who thought that such differences would disappear with age will also have to face the facts. Acceptance of individuality is still the problem to the late adolescent it was to the early adolescent, although it may have become less crucial than before.

Testing bodily limits thus simultaneously enables him to understand his body and to engage in peer activities which aid in the establishment of personal identity.

The Interpersonal World of the Late Adolescent

The Family

The late adolescent years see the continuation of the struggle between dependence and independence. The struggle occurs not only between parents and child, but within the individual child. He both identifies with and is in conflict with his parents. This drive toward independence occurs in the family setting, so that the total emotional climate of the home influences both the process and the outcome.

In Chapter 3, we saw how the family began its influence; here we shall see how the family contributes the finishing touches before the youngster moves out to establish his own family.

CLIMATE OF FEELING. Much has been made over the need of the infant for TLC—tender, loving care. The democratic home has also been stressed as the ideal climate for fostering healthy children. Do these two factors, TLC and democracy, still make a difference to the adolescent?

The importance of "pop" as a significant person in the development of his children has often been as slighted as the role of "mom" has been emphasized. Several recent studies have re-emphasized the importance of the father. The study of adolescent aggression (described in Chapter 15) illustrates that a disruption of the father-son relationship in early childhood and a sustained break in communication is closely related to aggressive, antisocial behavior in adolescent boys (Bandura and Walters, 1959).

The top 30 percent on intelligence tests of all tenth- and twelfth-grade pupils in the Quincy, Illinois public schools in 1957-58 served as subjects of an intensive study of achievement motivation. They were divided, on the basis of academic performance, into high (above the median) and low achievers (below the median). Among the variables studied were several related to the family. High-achieving boys and girls saw Father as more important in their lives than did low achievers of equal intelligence (Pierce and Bowman, 1960).

Mom, as we would expect, exerts significant influence upon the personality, motivations, and self of the adolescent. Her patterns of behavior and her expectations for her children influence their need for achievement and their actual performance. For instance, in the Quincy Youth Study, mothers of high-achieving boys differed from those of low achievers in being less strict, less intrusive, less suppressive of sex, less authoritarian, more approving of activity, and more communicative. On the other hand, mothers of high-achieving girls were more strict (Pierce and Bowman, 1960).

Boys and girls seem to attach different meanings to achievement; differing maternal attitudes toward each influence their needs to achieve. The middle-class boy from the democratic home is more achievement-oriented because achievement for boys is expected in American society. The middle-class girl who seeks high achievement is perhaps not fully accepting the female role, and her needs for academic success stem not from a permissive, open climate, but from a restrictive environment. High achievement for girls is not necessarily indicative of good adjustment.

The value of the democratic, open, accepting home is not confined to achievement. The "Prairie City" study, a longitudinal study of more than eight years of a group of 34 Midwestern youngsters, yields some significant conclusions. These adolescents were followed from the ages of 10 to 18. Those growing up in democratic homes were

characterized by friendliness and spontaneity; those living in severely autocratic, nontrusting, nonaccepting homes were characterized by hostility and guilt. The adolescent reared in a consistent, stable, warm, mutually approving, and trusting climate develops a strong sense of reality and personal worth (what the psychoanalytically oriented psychologist calls "ego strength"). In addition, a strong sense of personal values, a conscience (superego), and an ability to maintain his own position seem to be results of regularity and consistency in an adolescent's home training (Peck, 1958).

WHAT CAN WE CONCLUDE? It seems obvious that the family as an interpersonal field, providing a climate in which concepts of self are cultivated, continues to play its role *throughout* the growing-up years. Although infancy and early childhood are particularly important, the continuing impact of the family throughout the adolescent period serves to strengthen the original concepts formed in earlier periods. It is within this setting that all other family issues and problems occur, and solutions are dependent upon the climate of feeling.

CULTURAL EXPECTATIONS. As we would expect, cultural variables are interwoven with emotional factors in their influence upon the adolescent. The Quincy researchers concluded: "Parents of high achievers were better educated (based on highest grade completed) than parents of low achievers. . . . High achievers' mothers held higher educational aspirations for them. . . . Small families produced proportionately more high achievers than did large families" (Pierce and Bowman, 1960, p. 65).

Another study of achievement motivation showed that middle-class high school seniors, when material rewards were removed, continued to strive because they saw satisfaction as its own reward. Their lower-class classmates, however, were more motivated by material reward than by success itself, and quit when the reward was withdrawn (Douvan, 1956).

Leaders in high school affairs, as judged by teachers', peers', and counselors' ratings, differed in home conditions from those not so identified. In the leaders' homes, there were fewer additional adults, such as grandmothers, boarders, or other relatives. Whether the mother worked did not matter, but the presence of the father in the evening was related positively to leadership for girls. Other cultural

and emotional factors favoring the leaders were ample work assignments in and out of the home, the use of praise and reasoning, adequate recreation facilities, participation in family planning, and freedom of choice on moral issues (Barr and Hoover, 1957).

The home of the adolescent cannot be evaluated as though the only significant variable was his presence. Parent-child relationships in adolescence cannot be discussed without an understanding of the natural history of the particular family. To do so reduces considerably the utility of data for predicting the self of the individual adolescent. Not all homes are ridden with conflict; not all children identify satisfactorily. The extent of identification or conflict and the resolution of the dependence-independence tug of war depends upon the unique transactional field of a particular family. The way the adolescent will perceive himself in relation to his parents is a function, therefore, of the combination of his own past experience with his family, his own changing body, and his parents' changing perceptions of him and their relationship to him.

IDENTIFICATION. The key to the satisfactory emergence of the adolescent into independence may lie in the degree to which he has been successful in his identification with the parent of the same sex. We saw that the identification process began during infancy, when both boys and girls identified primarily with the mother. By the time of entrance into school, boys had changed their identification to the father. However, the whole preadolescent period was still devoted, as seen in the agency of the peer group, to clarification of sex role. With sexual maturity, a new understanding of oneself as male or female had to be accomplished.

Now, in late adolescence, the boy or girl begins to differentiate and integrate still another facet of this ongoing task. He begins to see self as an adult male, similar to "father," or adult female, similar to "mother." This is a long way from the role-playing as "daddy" or "mommy" of the preschooler. Indeed, the trend toward earlier marriages which seems to be prevalent in the 1960s indicates that the reality of being daddy or mommy is being thrust upon many who are chronologically, at least, late adolescents.

We know that the child's initial attempts at identifying succeed or fail upon the basis of his perception of their reception by the significant adult. If he receives "feedback," indicating that his father enjoys

and fosters his attempts at identifying, if he perceives love as accompanying his efforts, then he probably makes a satisfactory identification. How well does this seem to survive in adolescence?

The evidence from clinics, juvenile courts, and the guidance counselors in high schools seems to support the importance of father-son identification as a significant variable in the self-concept and behavior of the adolescent boy. Research evidence, from both the Bandura and Walters (1959) study described earlier and the efforts of Payne and Mussen (1956), strengthens the hypothesis that identification is both important to adolescent boys and has its roots in the early childhood relationship. The adolescent's *present* perception of his father is highly related to identification. The boy who identifies with his father is also, on the average, the boy who perceives of his father as a highly rewarding, affectionate person and of the parent-child relationship as warm and rewarding. Undoubtedly, similar results would be obtainable on parallel research involving girls.

Identification in adolescence is not equivalent to copying the behavior of parents, nor is it equivalent to absorption of the parental image *in toto*. It seems to be a *selective* process in which the boy or girl evaluates various aspects of parental behavior, feelings, and values, and chooses those particular life patterns which harmonize with his total self-structure. For instance, Minnesota college students did not necessarily wish to emulate their parents' choice of occupation or "free-time" activities. The men's hopes for when they would marry resembled significantly the ages at which their fathers married, while the girls' hopes resembled the mothers' wishes (Rose, 1955). Further exploration may show that professional strivings in these college students reflect identification with their parents' aspirations for them.

CONFLICT. Conflict, too, does not emerge in adolescence. Its roots lie in the total family situation and history. However, because of the particular demands of this age group, it becomes a focal factor in the parent-adolescent relationship.

There seems to be a degree of universality in parent-adolescent conflict. Not only do we find it reported in American, Japanese, and West European research publications, but it also seems to exist behind the Iron Curtain. A Polish psychologist, using self-reporting techniques, found that adolescents living in small towns near

Warsaw perceived that the conflict stemmed from restrictions placed upon them, differences of opinion with adults, and adult character traits. Only 3 percent were not bothered by such conflicts and one-third reported that conflict was frequent (Skorijpska, 1958). It is interesting to note the projection of blame onto the adults!

Why is conflict so visible, and perhaps universal, at this time? Ausubel claims, "The most important single cause of parent-youth conflict is the perseveration of parents' attitudes that interfere with the adolescent's greatly expanded need for volitional independence" (Ausubel, 1954, p. 226). This is true, particularly when the youngster possesses a car and holds a part-time job, the manifestation of a modicum of economic independence. Previously, parents could be resisted only to a point, and even then much of the resistance had to be covert. The late adolescent can no longer easily accept many of the restrictions which continue to be placed upon him.

The adolescent boy is perhaps in a more favorable position than his sister. Even though his parents worry about his "hotrodding" or joyriding, his choice of friends, his late hours, they somehow recognize the cultural axiom that "boys will be boys."

Girls, however, even in homes which tended to be permissive, find their activities much more curtailed. The attitude of parents becomes more, rather than less, authoritarian. Both parents are haunted by the specter that their daughter might get "in trouble." They tend to doubt the impact of whatever moral training they themselves have imparted and try to "clamp down." Of course, the adolescent being what she is, clamping often has the reverse effect. Girls often report that their parents don't trust them and rationalize their own behavior on this account. The threat of pregnancy looms much larger to the parent than it does to the girl.

Unfortunately, parents' fears are reinforced by statistics which show not only an increase in the number of illegitimate births, but also a decrease in the average age of the unwed mother. Although these girls represent all social classes in our society, the statistics are biased by the ability of the upper-middle class and upper classes to resort to abortion or concealment. Although the overt manifestation of the conflict may be time of homecoming or choice of friends, the latent issue is often sex. A realistic appraisal of the difficult parental role in this regard is the following from Farnham's book written for parents:

Parents are in a tight spot. They realize, as the youngster cannot, the explosive nature of the situation he is in. They cannot trust the youngster's ability to handle the forces in himself that are unleashed by these progressively more intimate contacts. Their fear may make them so panicky that they can only trot out a kind of blind and determined opposition to any kind of relationship between boys and girls if they believe there is the smallest chance of intimacy. The result inevitably will be a frantic attempt to police the situation. All that can come of this is a wide rift between the parents and the child and the establishment in the child of a "resistance movement." His sexual yearning goes underground and becomes secret and furtive, and all chance at guidance, counseling and control is lost. The mother who emphatically affirms that her daughter is not under any circumstances to indulge in any form of petting is putting herself in a position where she is either going to look ridiculous or be a hopeless failure. The pressure today for physical expression between boys and girls is so omnipresent and the atmosphere of the society in which we live so permissive that we would be like a man in the jungle thumbing his nose at the oncoming tiger if we attempted to enforce such a rule. Any society which gives drivers' licenses and automobiles to boys of seventeen and allows them to take girls of the same age out in those cars is clearly in no position to police the situation. That is exactly what is going on, and there is no sign that there is a large demand for any change [Farnham, 1952, pp. 123-124].

What is it adolescents want from parents and what can parents be expected to allow? Although the adolescent may say he wants complete freedom, further questioning reveals that he wants freedom with some agreed-upon limits, and trust and support from his parents. He wants to be able to confide in parents, but to have an area of personal privacy. Parents should neither turn him loose nor totally restrict him. They need to face the fact that the late adolescent, especially the high school senior and college student, may engage in premarital relations. Parents need to serve youth by teaching it, long before adolescence, the meaning of love in its fullest sense, the "facts of life," when inquired about, and respect for one's own sex and the opposite sex. They need to help the young high school pupil, unable to cope with the complexities of sex, to exercise control. But they must accept the presence of sex.

Perhaps the movement toward early marriage represents youth's search for the solution to the conflict. Youth wants independence, but cannot fully achieve it in the home; youth wants a mature sex relationship and recognizes that clandestine or promiscuous relationships are unsatisfactory; youth wants to be adult in a society

which requires longer and longer years of training. Although older generations may deplore the trend, it may actually involve a better solution to youth's problems than continued frustration of the urge toward growth and maturity. Whether this solution creates other problems (such as increased divorce with young children, struggle for control when married college students still receive financial assistance from home, and choice by the boy of a lower occupational level because advanced education takes too long) remains to be seen.

Some conflict will most likely occur in all families. However, the family which has involved the child in decision-making, which accepts the growth urge, and which provides him with a supportive but liberating emotional climate will enable the adolescent to develop a value system and a sense of personal worth and dignity. An adequate and secure concept of himself will enable him to resolve the dependence-independence quandary successfully and to establish sound relationships with the opposite sex. Such an adolescent will understand and respect his parents' concerns and will not become a "rebel without a cause." He will chose independence, but with a sense of responsibility and without a sense of guilt.

What the adolescent needs and wants, then, is fundamentally the same emotional climate he requires in infancy and childhood. This does not mean the same specific treatment, but the preservation of an *attitude* on the part of parents that recognizes his needs to grow, to become independent, to stand on his own feet. The consistency comes not from the detailed, specific child-rearing practices, but from this pervasive climate of feeling.

The Community

A fundamental change in the relationship between the youngster and the adult world occurs during the adolescent period. Although it would be difficult to say exactly when this occurs, it becomes quite marked during the high school years. This change is the emergence of the adolescent as a market.

The adolescent as a consumer has become big business. The mass media are turned to not only for stories, but for market trends in clothes, records, cosmetics, and entertainment. The place of the adolescent in the large community as a purchaser of services has led to youth consumer surveys, the popularity of the disc jockey, the

creation of special-appeal magazines such as *Seventeen* and *Hot Rod*, and the establishment of teen-age credit card systems.

Gilbert's survey shows, for example, that "fifty-seven percent of all American teen-agers buy their own records and sports equipment, forty percent buy their own shirts, and thirty-six percent their own shoes. . . . Young people have never known a nonprosperous world. What the adult considers a luxury, young people consider a necessity to keep pace with today's living" (MacDonald, 1958). Moreover, adolescents often determine the choice of stores in which their parents shop for teen-age items.

Earlier we viewed the larger community as being a force in the development of the child; now the late adolescent is a force in shaping his community. Because he is the consumer, movies feature rock 'n' roll stars, unknowns sell records by the million, TV ads cater to his taste.

The record industry is an excellent example of the effect of the teen-ager on the adult world. Records purchased by teen-agers or played on juke boxes provide spectacular profits for record companies. It is impossible to listen to the radio for any length of time without becoming aware of the broadcaster's concept of his most important audience. In a very real sense, teen-age taste dictates what adults hear and see in the entertainment field.

This is important not only to the adult who may be appalled by these new circumstances, but also for an understanding of the values and concepts of the adolescent peer culture. Buying and judging are serious affairs. One's status may well rest upon the ability to consume wisely. Consumption is a key societal value, and, although what is consumed may be related to the age group, the elevation of consumption to its prime position was accomplished originally by adult training. The late adolescent is thus demonstrating that he has met a major qualification for admission to the adult American world: he knows how to spend money.

Generally, the late adolescent plays a more significant role than younger age groups in influencing the adult world. This influence is brought to bear through the actions of his peers as a group, rather than by his behavior as an individual. He even brings his group into family situations to help him persuade his parents to allow him to behave in certain ways. He influences both the economy and

the political situation of adult society. Although he is still denied adult status, he makes his presence felt.

The High School Culture

THE SCHOOL. The adolescent's role as a molder of society is not limited to the transactional fields of entertainment, politics, and the home. Teachers, too, not only copy youth, but are instructed to do so. The following example is a Chicago Round-Table comment by Allison Davis:

The schools can learn from the play group—the group of children and adolescents of the same age. For example, Caroline Tryon has pointed out that the age group of the adolescent, the school group of children, does not lecture; that it teaches the main adjustment which the adolescent has really to make socially without any lecturing or badgering. It does it by setting a kind of popularity model which every child and every adolescent yearns to imitate. Now, teachers need to learn much of this themselves—that they cannot control adolescents, that they cannot keep the lid on, which is the aim in so many high schools, but that they have really to enter into the ideals, the aspirations, and the individuality of adolescent boys and girls, and in this way guide them [Davis *et al.*, 1949, p. 7].

The teacher still has the role of guide, but is asked to take his cues from the peer group. The effect of peer group life on the high school and the attempts of the high school faculty to understand and use peer group dynamics are underlying realities beneath the academic surface.

The process by which what were once extracurricular activities became, first, "co-curricular" and are rapidly becoming curriculum is an excellent example of adolescent influence on the school program. Baton-twirling, formerly a stunt, now is taught in many schools as a part of physical education. Clubs and societies, formerly limited to after-school time, now meet during the school day. Holidays for homecoming, for winning key football games, and for similar reasons, formerly occurring on college and university campuses, now filter down into the high school.

Students participate in evaluation, not only of their own learning and progress, but also of their courses and teachers. We see here, perhaps, another example of the consumer research orientation, this time in the educational process.

This should not be construed as an endorsement of all these

changes, but merely a reporting of events. They seem to represent a tacit shift in authority and leadership from adults to adolescents. If this shift represents understanding the learning process, then it is to be welcomed; if it represents the path of least resistance, then it should be challenged.

Many of these practices indicate the school faculties' growing awareness of the importance of the peer and emotional life of the child as factors influencing his intellectual development. It should not be assumed that the majority of the high school faculty have this awareness or concern. But these practices represent an understanding of adolescent problems and needs by many faculty members and curriculum-makers. These educators are aware of the importance of utilizing differing approaches and experiences in the teaching-learning process. Schools have not abandoned their adult social responsibilities to become peer group playgrounds. Rather, the peer group is being used for adult educational purposes.

The role of the peer culture as an aspect of higher education has long been recognized by college personnel workers and researchers. Perhaps Freedman's comments on the entering American college student, vintage 1959, is relevant to an understanding of the high school junior and senior and the school culture as a setting for peer culture. He says of the peer culture:

We contend in fact that this culture is the prime educational force at work in the college, for as we shall see, assimilation into the student society is the foremost concern of most new students. Suffice it to say now that in our opinion the scholastic and academic aims and processes of the college are in large measure transmitted to incoming students or mediated for them by the predominant student culture. . . .

The student culture provides order and comfort. It teaches students how to behave in various social situations, what to think about all manner of issues, how to deal with common problems and troublesome external influences. It offers instruction in how to keep the faculty at a distance, how to bring pressure that will insure that the faculty behave in expected and therefore manageable ways. . . .

There are students who have been unable to develop internal agencies of control, who consequently have depended for a long time upon the direction of their peers. Separation from the peer group would put them under a very severe strain. This is a source of that rigid adherence to peer values which we sometimes see in individual students. It is also a factor making for resistance to change in the culture itself [Freedman, 1960, pp. 4-5].

In Chapter 8, we saw that the schools become what the powerful elements in the community wish them to be. If football and basketball are more important than academic work, the fault lies neither with the faculty nor with the philosophy of education, but with the people who would rather build a stadium than a library and pay the coach more than the principal. The adult community, wanting its bread and circuses, its parades and football games, not only sanctions but encourages such situations. The school, under such circumstances, is exploited by both the adult and adolescent communities.

Just how do faculties view their responsibilities toward adolescents? How does teacher behavior affect pupil self-development? How do adolescents view the school?

High school faculties are fundamentally concerned with subject matter. They see the high school as a place for intellectual training. They set academic standards and enforce them. But many also recognize the importance of social and personal development and see the school as having some responsibility in this area.

The high school culture is a fusion of teacher and adult cultural forces and peer cultural forces. The student is influenced by both and uses the peer society to aid him in finding his way through the adult-imposed patterns.

Let us take a look at how this works out in practice. First, we will examine the impact of the adult pattern on the pupil, then we will study the high school peer group.

Academic expectations are made known to students in a variety of ways: grading, grouping, reprimanding, warning slips, and parent conferences. Printed statements are issued, such as the following one from a Midwestern school: "E and S indicate that the pupil is above the class or school average and that superior work is done. F indicates that the pupil is failing and will not pass the course unless improvement is made. An I is unsatisfactory. Any absence or tardiness without a good reason is unexcusable. Grades are not determined by knowledge of subject matter alone. Other extremely important factors are regularity, punctuality of attendance, attitude, effort and contribution to class discussion . . ." (Gordon, 1957, p. 34).

How well do high school pupils perceive and incorporate these standards? C. W. Gordon's study shows that girls accomplish this

better than boys and that such standards were accepted more and more in the higher grades. Thus, twelfth-graders acted upon them more than tenth-graders. Boys violated this behavioral pattern by "cutting," "skipping," or being tardy more than girls (Gordon, 1957).

An Ohio State study revealed that youngsters generally hold the same *expressed* standards as teachers and parents and that there was greater difference among students than between students and adults (Siegel *et al.*, 1956). The effect of the teacher on pupil behavior is demonstrated, for example, by two research projects. In addition, Cogan found a strong relationship between integrative, affiliative, nurturant behavior on the part of high school teachers and self-initiated work by pupils (Cogan, 1958).

A study of causes of pupil dissatisfaction in a Midwestern private school showed that these causes lay in psychological rather than achievement variables. Teachers perceived satisfied boys more favorably than they did dissatisfied boys; also, satisfaction seemed to be a function of the students' self-organization. Boys tended to project upon the school; girls tended to be self-critical (Jackson and Getzels, 1959).

Adult expectations are thus differentially perceived by boys and girls and the degree to which they are fulfilled seems to be a function of teacher behavior and pupil perception of self and teacher.

How important is the acceptance of adult expectation to the high school pupil? C. Gordon's intensive sociological study of a Midwestern high school led him to conclude: "The behavior of the adolescent was found to be associated with his generalized status . . . the dominant orientation to action was to accept those roles which would establish a prestige position in the informal [peer] organization.

"Grade achievement was least significantly related to general status; achievement in student activities was most significantly related to a favorable social position" (Gordon, 1957, p. 22).

That teachers are aware of the importance of the peer social world is shown by the many attempts to use student activities, home rooms, and sociometric grouping as procedures to aid individual students achieve status. An example of such efforts is described by Amundson (1954). The teachers in a Racine, Wisconsin high school set up an experiment to improve interpersonal relationships and train leaders. The home room was chosen as the place to experiment. The teach-

ers' conclusions included recommendations for sociometric assignment to home rooms and the use of social activities in them. In effect, the recommendations show the extent to which adult and peer expectations are integrated both by administrative and teacher programs and peer pressures for achievement and status.

It may be said that the high school, as constituted today, presents the students with a dual image: a formal, adult-controlled, and supervised program of instruction and an informal, peer-controlled program. Both attempt to manipulate the other; both copy techniques from the other; but the peer culture is dominant in the perception of the student.

The Peer Culture

FUNCTIONS OF THE PEER GROUP. Gordon defines the four functions fulfilled by the high school cliques in his study:

1. As collective prestige units which defined the individual's status.
2. As a means for cooperative competition for preferred objects such as dates, school offices, gossip, home work assignments, clothing knowledge, and transportation.
3. To provide the individual with a sense of adequacy in grade achievement competition. The capacity of the grading system to threaten the personal security of the individual was greatly reduced by the protection the clique afforded.
4. As arbiters of approved behavior and raters of persons in such a way as to operate the "rules of the game" by demanding conformity of both clique and nonclique members to approved standards of conduct [Gordon, 1957, pp. 105-106].

Belonging to a "clique" is deemed vital by adolescents. It is through such group membership that dates are arranged, experimentation in liquor, sex, and smoking provided and discussed, consumption styles in clothes set, and moral reputations made and broken. In the small, face-to-face group, the communications network which permeates adolescent culture begins and ends.

The clique or peer group thus functions as the arbiter of social behavior, the protector from adult pressure, and the provider of experience and status. If one belongs to the "right" group and behaves in the "right" way, "he's got it made." To arrive at this enviable position takes time, effort, and money, but the satisfactions, as perceived by the adolescent, are generally worth the cost.

ORGANIZATION. There is a definite hierarchical pattern both among and between peer groups in high school. Some groups are known as "wheels" or "brains," others are known by various nicknames which convey their status position to the initiates. The athletic crowd may be called "the jocks," the drinking group, "the beer boys," and so on. Each group member knows this status system, even though he may express resentment about his place in the "pecking order."

Within the group, status is related to reputation and behavior. The more closely one approximates the values of his group, the more secure is his position and the higher is his status. Since adolescent groups tend to value the doer, the "go-getter," "the popularity kid," and the "athlete," these roles are accorded high status. To become a leader in the eyes of one's peers requires performance. The "brain" is not valued, except within his own clique of "brains," who are usually low in the general social order.

A Canadian study of eleventh grade boys serves as an example of the status system within the group. A sociometric, a social reputation test, and a variety of personality test data were collected and analyzed. The only widely acknowledged leader of this particular group of boys was an active, carefree, optimistic, cheerful youngster who actually lived up to his group's expectation that he would take an active lead. The followers in this group were less active and tended to be less emotionally stable and more subdued. "The reasons for isolation by the group appeared to be a lack of conformity to group standards and undue criticism of the group" (Munro, 1957, p. 159). In microcosm, this group might be said to be fairly typical of the adolescent peer culture.

Social-class membership also acts as a variable in determining one's role, reputation, and behavior in the peer culture and the peer group. Where clothes are a sign of belonging (the cashmere sweater or the "thread-needle" shoe), the lower-class youngster often cannot compete. The values of leisure time, record collections, and a car as prestige symbols also discriminate against the lower-class high school student. He belongs to his own peer groups, but they tend to have low status in the over-all high school picture.

Ethnic membership also helps determine a particular youngster's place in the status system. If he belongs to a minority group, he may find the cards stacked against him. This seems to be particularly true if his group is a substantial minority in a particular school. A Univer-

sity of Washington study, for instance, showed that the larger the ethnic minority, the more ethnocentric, or clannish, were the majority group members (Lundberg and Dickson, 1952).

Another way in which social class might affect status was demonstrated by Maas (1954) in a study of club member behavior. The clubs were not perfect peer groups since an adult leader was present; however, the club meetings were conducted by an adolescent as president. It was found that in lower-class clubs, members perceived the role of adult leader and president in a different way than adolescents in middle-class clubs. The lower-class member treated the adult leader the same way the middle-class member treated the adolescent leader. Thus, the role-perceptions and behavior toward leaders differs in these two social classes. It may be hypothesized that lower-class pupils attempting to penetrate middle-class peer groups encounter difficulty because they lack the appropriate skills and role-perceptions.

We may conclude that peer groups are nonegalitarian in their organizational framework. Status is a function of approved behavior which, in turn, is influenced by social-class and caste membership, as well as personality variables.

How do adolescents perceive this "pecking order"? One eleventh-grader expresses it this way:

In order to be a leader, you have to go around with the leaders. To "get in" with the right clique is necessary to become popular. Certain cliques "run" the school and if that is what you want, then you had better get in with the right "clique." But this is not always too easy, and from my point of view not as desirable as it may seem to some people.

I think the whole school is made up of cliques but some of them aren't as exclusive as others. I think cliques are the normal thing, and I don't really see anything wrong with them. After all, in your whole life there are going to be people who are "above" you or "below" and school is no different. We live in a democracy, but we don't have lunch with the Vanderbilts.

Of course, a lot of these cliques are so snobby that people actually feel uncomfortable around any of the members, but a person has to accept the fact that everyone has their own little group of friends, and a lot of these cliques are made up of people who have been friends for years [Gordon, 1957, p. 109].

ACTIVITIES. Perhaps the most significant activity, both from an adult and an adolescent point of view, is dating. "Going steady" be-

comes an important pattern for social behavior in the high school. Originally, "dates" are sought because of the pressure of the peer culture rather than the presence of a real, intrinsic interest in a particular person of the opposite sex.

Dating becomes a device by which one has a partner to be with when the gang goes some place. "Going steady" seems to be an extension of this arrangement rather than a precursor of marriage. It provides one with security, status, and reduced competition. Although going steady may be perceived as a highly useful practice by teen-agers, "adolescents often found it difficult to make adjustments to the expectations and intimate associations. . . . The desire for security and predictability of social activity and the expectations of peers often made it very difficult to dissolve the relationships" (Crist, 1953, p. 26).

For boys, sexual desire reaches its peak between the ages of 14 and 18. Both boys and girls realize that boys see dating as providing opportunities for the boy to "go as far as he can." Christensen's study of the opinions of 2500 high school youths shows that boys are seen as more thoughtless, natural, and sex-driven and the girls are categorized as more inhibited, touchy, and money-minded (Christensen, 1952).

Boys seem to have ambivalent feelings about dating and sex. For middle-class youths, girls who are "easy" are not love or marriage objects and they seem to want the girls they admire to say "no." On the other hand, girls are seen as sex objects to be manipulated and used, and dating is seen as a hunt. Often middle-class boys separate love and sex and seek temporary sex relations with girls outside their own social group while dating girls within their group.

Boys and girls probably look at dating somewhat differently; the boy regards sexual activity as much more important to a "good time" than does the girl. Breed, along with several others, suggests the importance of the concept of "respect." The girl is expected to set the limits, and the boy is governed by his respect for the girl. Some sample quotations from Breed's (1956) respondents in a Southern city illustrate the adolescent's perception of dating activity. The boys say:

You can tell when a girl wants to be kissed—she leads up to it.

Usually the girl says no—not in words, but by her reactions. I just go

on until she says stop . . . but petting is dangerous—it has to be a couple well matched, like if the boy was 19 and the girl was 15 he'd be taking advantage of her.

You can tell ahead of time. You know that so-and-so will neck and so-and-so won't even kiss you good night. They all kind of have labels. (Q: How does all this information get around?) Oh I don't know . . . some time another guy might say, "Boy, you really had a hot time . . ." It gets around.

If a girl hints around I will park. If you like a girl a lot and she likes you, it is perfectly OK . . . I get guilt feelings about it sometimes . . . makes me disgusted to think of sitting around necking with a girl for two or three hours—that doesn't develop your personality like going different places with different people.

If a girl kissed me on the first date I'd wonder if she kissed everyone she went out with. Especially if it's a girl you like, it means more to you if it's not too easy to get.

The girls are more consistent:

I have to know the boy and like him very much before I'll kiss him good night. I have been going steady for a while so I kiss him. I feel that "Love is a wonderful thing but why squander it."

I think necking is foolish for people this young . . . Once a boy took me parking and I made him take me right home . . . If a boy and girl have been dating several times they must like each other. On the third or fourth date it's all right to kiss a boy . . . This business of necking and petting is confusing. I can't draw the line. I've never done it, the most I've ever done is to kiss a boy . . . if a girl ever sits in a parked car—things are liable to get out of hand.

It's all right to kiss a boy if you like him and he likes you and you had fun on the date. Not just because it is the thing to do. Just good night, I enjoyed it, is enough [Breed, 1956, pp. 139-140].

Dating behavior is thus a central problem for the high school youth. He spends much peer group time talking about it; he reads helpful hints in newspaper columns and magazines; he reports this as a major concern on problem check lists and opinion polls. We can understand this anxiety when we view dating as the activity in which the youngster comes to grips with the conflicts between his sex-role identification, physical urges, religious and social-class mores, peer pressure, and the value system he has internalized up to this time. It is no wonder so much time and effort are expended in dating and the reflective "bull sessions" or "hen parties" which occur after and between dates.

It should not be implied that dating is the sole activity of high

school youth. They are active in games and sports, TV, radio, and record listening, hobbies of all sorts, and virtually all other areas of activity. Boys spend hours tinkering with cars, for example. Dating has been emphasized because it represents the most significant activity in terms of peer group behavior and individual development.

PEER-ADULT INTERACTION. The previous discussions in this chapter of family and school patterns and the discussion in Chapter 15 of adult-adolescent interaction in early adolescence make any lengthy discussion here unnecessary. We can simply say that the nature of the adult-adolescent interaction is essentially limited by hostility at one end and dependence-submission at the other, with most contact being essentially analogous to an armed truce.

The adolescent peer culture continues to exist because it offers that certain something to the youngster which the adult world denies—status. Although individual adults may be respected and even idolized, the adult world as a whole is viewed with suspicion. Although adult values permeate the peer group and the peer culture influences the adult world, the relationship is not a peaceful one.

THE PEER GROUP AND THE INDIVIDUAL. The demands for conformity during the high school years are great. To belong, the boy or girl is expected to accept the group's values, conduct, dress, and speech. Although this may be seen as essential by group members in helping them accomplish whatever purposes they may have, it raises the specter of the loss of individuality. Must one surrender to belong?

The answer lies within the self of the individual adolescent. Certainly, most adolescents seek to participate actively in the peer culture. We know they are highly aware of the hierarchical structure. Some need so desperately to belong to prestige groups that they seem to be willing to go to any length. Others draw the line at different points and join groups more compatible with their own goals.

Social psychological research on resistance to pressure seems to indicate that it is very difficult for most youngsters to be the lone hold-out against group judgment. The presence of others who disagree or the existence of other peer groups one can join make it easier for the adolescent to maintain his position. If he's caught in a situation in which he perceives that "everyone is doing it," the going gets rough.

McDavid's study (1959) seems to indicate that the ability of adolescent boys to withstand group pressure may depend upon whether

they are task- or person-oriented. One hundred and sixty-five boys between 16 and 18 were placed in situations in which it appeared that they were alone in arriving at a particular conclusion (number of clicks heard over a "radio"). The evidence suggests that those who yielded and changed their count were boys who were motivated to conform by the desire not to be different. They were person-oriented. Those who resisted were message-oriented or task-oriented. They maintained a relatively firm perceptual view and shaped the interpretation to conform to this view; they chose not to change.

In view of the popularity of the claim that we are becoming more and more a person-oriented or "other-directed" society, we may wonder how many adolescents would be able to maintain their views. Maybe, at home, in the culture at large, and in school, we are training them to be more person-oriented, thus defeating our professed concern for the integrity of the individual.

In any event, to the individual adolescent, insofar as he perceives it to be crucial to him to belong, the peer group will be a shaper and molder of his values and behavior. His total self-concept and the situations in which he finds himself will determine the roles he will play in his peer culture.

Summary

In this chapter, we have considered both the physical and social forces at work upon the self of the late adolescent. We have seen both the continuation of earlier patterns of self-environment transactions and the emergence of new meanings and behavior. We have noted the increasing power of the late adolescent to not only cope with, but also to modify, his social situation. Not only is he physically mature by the end of the late adolescent period, but he is also ready to absorb adult ways of relating to the world.

In Chapter 18, we will explore the concomitant changes in his private world and self-concept as he moves toward adulthood.

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Selfhood in Late Adolescence

Conceptual Development

Attitudes and Values

In late adolescence, the value system of the particular youngster is still based upon his unique interpretation of the patterned ways of life he sees around him. He adopts certain beliefs from his culture, but modifies them within his own self. He has become more able to recognize the various origins of the demands made upon him for behavior.

For instance, Hollingworth (1949) asked adolescents to categorize a list of "oughts," such as "the strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak," into the basic reasons for the imperative. He found not only the expected pattern of wide individual variation within age groups but also a sequence of development. The younger group, of junior high school juniors, classified their responses mainly into custom, beauty and justice, while the high school seniors and college students saw beauty, utility and logical inference as the main reasons for "ought." This study is but one example of the movement away from absolutes and external regulatory agencies toward a more relative system of reasons for values. There is virtually no change between late adolescence and adulthood.

There is much evidence of the similarity of late adolescent and adult views of life. This seems to be true not only in the American culture but, for example, in Japan as well (Okaji, 1958). This does not mean that adult and late adolescent behavior are identical, but

that they share a common system of values. A major difference, although it may be more imagined than real, is the relative inability of youth to carry through on its stated values.

Youth tends to adopt stereotyped views of others and to resolve its conflicts by adopting slogans or making compromises. Taba's study of 16-year-olds points up the discrepancies and conflicts. She states: "The strongest aspect of moral courage is that of defending and protecting one's own rights and those of others. . . . Yet doubt and fear are expressed about any opinion or action, no matter how right, which is likely to arouse the displeasure of any person in authority or jeopardize one's popularity with peers. . . . Following the group, even into wrongdoing is rather highly approved. . . . Individual positions deviating from the generally accepted code are feared and shunned. . . .

"A common characteristic is the lack of readiness to face conflicts of choices. The predominant reaction to conflict situations is uncertainty or an attempt at a compromise solution" (Taba, 1953, pp. 316-318).

This desire to "get along," to "not upset the apple cart," and to be a "team player" is not unique to the adolescent age group. It seems to permeate contemporary American society. Its existence in high school and college youth might be seen as an incorporation of adult values rather than as an immature stage of development.

Another aspect of the value system of the late adolescent, in addition to "getting along," is the fact that the youngster wants to be left alone, and doesn't want to get wrapped up in social issues. He questions, in effect, whether he really is his brother's keeper. The orientation toward social action which exists in the university and high school student in other lands, such as Korea, Turkey, and many Latin-American countries, exists only occasionally in the United States.

American youth seems to follow "the inclination to seek a rich, full life for one's self and one's family, to think in concrete and practical terms about the material benefits—job, home, facilities for recreation—that one expects to attain and enjoy" (Freedman, 1960, p. 5). The pattern of early marriage may be seen as one symptom of this view of life.

This effort to keep life on an even, undisturbed, Pollyannaish keel causes the high school youngster to define America and Ameri-

canism in narrow ways. Teen-age polls and other public opinion gauges consistently reveal that constitutional safeguards of freedom of speech, assembly, and worship are viewed by a substantial number of teen-agers as being too soft on the dissident. They do not wish the "troublemaker" to be tolerated. They often have negative feelings about members of ethnic minority groups and little knowledge or understanding about the culture and aspirations of people in other lands. It is a wonder that during the rock 'n' roll era someone didn't write a hit tune called, "Don't Rock the Boat Rock!"

Attitudes toward science and scientists offer additional insights into the perceptual world of the high school youth. Students view science as important and productive of "better things for better living," and the scientist as essential. When asked, however, to put themselves into the scientist's role and describe both its positive and negative aspects, the image of a scientist that results is not one which leads young people to scientific or science-teaching careers. Mead and Metraux evaluated high school pupils' essays, and describe the image as follows:

POSITIVE SIDE OF THE IMAGE OF THE SCIENTIST

He is a very intelligent man—a genius or almost a genius. He has had long years of expensive training—in high school, college, or technical school, or perhaps even beyond—during which he studied very hard. He is interested in his work and takes it seriously. He is careful, patient, devoted, courageous, open minded. He knows his subject. He records his experiments carefully, does not jump to conclusions, and stands up for his ideas even when attacked. He works for long hours in the laboratory, sometimes day and night, going without food and sleep. He is prepared to work for years without getting results and face the possibility of failure without discouragement; he will try again. He wants to know the answer. One day he may straighten up and shout: "I've found it! I've found it!"

The scientist is a truly wonderful man. Where would we be without him? The future rests on his shoulders.

NEGATIVE SIDE OF THE IMAGE OF THE SCIENTIST

The scientist is a brain. He spends his days indoors, sitting in a laboratory, pouring things from one test tube into another. His work is uninteresting, dull, monotonous, tedious, time-consuming, and, though he works for years, he may see no results or may fail, and he is likely to receive neither adequate recompense nor recognition. He may live in a cold-water flat; his laboratory may be dingy.

If he works by himself, he is alone and has heavy expenses. If he works for a big company, he has to do as he is told, and his discoveries

must be turned over to the company and may not be used; he is just a cog in a machine. If he works for the government, he has to keep dangerous secrets; he is endangered by what he does and by constant surveillance and by continual investigations. If he loses touch with people, he may lose the public's confidence—as did Oppenheimer. If he works for money or self-glory he may take credit for the work of others—as some tried to do to Salk. He may even sell secrets to the enemy. . . .

He neglects his family—pays no attention to his wife, never plays with his children. He has no social life, no other intellectual interest, no hobbies, or relaxations. He bores his wife, his children and their friends—for he has no friends of his own or knows only other scientists—with incessant talk that no one can understand; or else he pays no attention or has secrets he cannot share. He is never home. He is always reading a book. He brings home work and also bugs and creepy things. He is always running off to his laboratory. He may force his children to become scientists also. . . .

A scientist should not marry. No one wants to be such a scientist or to marry him [Mead and Metraux, 1957, p. 387].

Dedication to long years of study and long hours of work, in contrast to pursuit of immediate goals and leisure time, strike the adolescent as too demanding. Even medical schools complain that both the number and quality of applicants has fallen down.

Youth seems to be seeking a definition of the good life which emphasizes good interpersonal relations with family and friends—the backyard barbecue as the ideal gathering place—rather than the long-range goals which, in reminiscence at least, existed for earlier generations. This shift may reflect the impact of the depression upon their parents or the effects of the age of automation and affluence.

It may be that in the coming years these values will change again with the demands of the world situation. As American society formulates new goals and engages in new patterns of relationships with the world, we may expect that the goals and values of adolescents will make corresponding changes.

Intellectual Development

In this book, we have consistently described intelligence, or intelligent behavior, as reflecting learned patterns and the self of the growing person rather than as a stated quantity, or a "given" native ability, fixed and unchanging.

Current (1960) views of intellectual growth recognize the concept

of differentiation-integration; intelligence is seen as a many-faceted process. As the person develops, there is movement toward complexity and toward differentiation of the many factors which combine to make up intellect.

Guilford's three-dimensional model may serve to illustrate one scheme for deciding what "intelligence" is. This scheme, Fig. 18.1, enables us to recognize that there is no such simple entity as intelligence, but rather that there are a number of operations in which the person engages, a number of kinds of material (contents) he uses in these operations, and a number of results (products) which emerge from intelligent behavior. "Each cell in the model calls for a certain kind of ability that can be described in terms of operation, content and product, for each cell is at the intersection of a unique

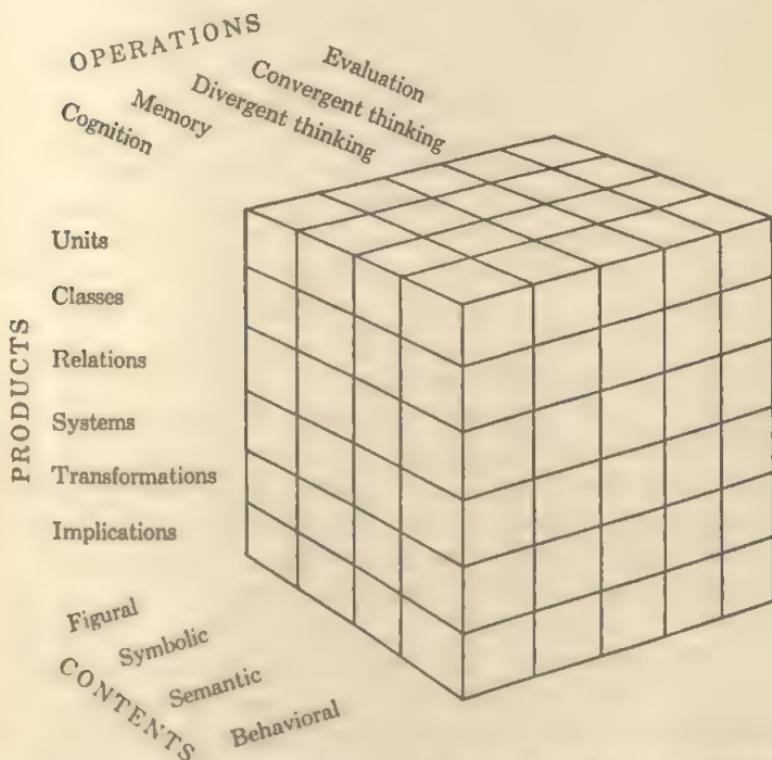


Fig. 18.1. A cubical model representing the structure of intellect. (Reprinted from "The Three Faces of Intellect," J. P. Guilford, *American Psychologist*, 1958, 14, 469-479. Used by permission.)

combination of kinds of operation, content and product" (Guilford, 1959, p. 471). For example, many high school tests of the objective type rely heavily on the cell which is labeled memory—semantic units. All the pupil has to do is recognize the right word or recall the right phrase.

Of course, such a scheme does not apply solely to the late adolescent. However, the development of some of the abilities represented by cells in Guilford's model probably do not occur until adolescence. Further, the concept of divergent thinking (or *creativity*) in high school youths has been studied with most interesting and thought-provoking results.

Creativity

How the person performs on an intelligence test, we have seen, is related to how he perceives himself. It is also a function of how he perceives his world and the way he sees the particular stimulus of the test item. Those who score high on the traditional type of intelligence test tend to engage in "convergent thinking." That is, they "zero in" on the task, focus on the problem, analyze it, and produce the conventional or "right" answer.

The divergent thinker, who often fails to show up as highly intelligent on the standardized test, uses the stimulus as a tickler for his imagination and "soars off" from the cue. Although researchers use labels such as high intelligence and high creativity (Getzels and Jackson, 1960; Torrance, 1960; Yamamoto, 1960), they may be describing two aspects of intelligent perception and behavior: convergent and divergent thinking.

An example from Getzels and Jackson illustrates the different kinds of perception. They studied two groups of students drawn from a larger group of 500 adolescents at a private school. One group of 26, labeled the high creativity group, scored in the top 20 percent on creativity tests. (A sample test item: give as many uses as you can for a brick.) But they were not in the top 20 percent on the standard IQ tests. The second group was composed of those in the top 20 percent on IQ tests, but not in the top creativity bracket.

One of the tasks presented to these youngsters was to look at a picture and write a story.

One picture-stimulus was perceived most often as a man in an airplane reclining seat returning from a business trip or conference. A high-IQ subject gave the following story: "Mr. Smith is on his way home from a successful business trip. He is very happy and he is thinking about his wonderful family and how glad he will be to see them again. He can picture it, about an hour from now, his plane landing at the airport and Mrs. Smith and their three children all there welcoming him home again." A high-creative subject wrote this story: "This man is flying back from Reno where he has just won a divorce from his wife. He couldn't stand to live with her anymore, he told the judge, because she wore so much cold cream on her face at night that her head would skid across the pillow and hit him in the head. He is now contemplating a new skid-proof face cream" [Getzels and Jackson, 1960, p. 9].

The creative adolescents "took off" from the pictures, were more playful and humorous, and used incongruous endings.

These two groups of youngsters did not differ in scholastic achievement or need for achievement, although the "intelligent" group averaged 23 IQ points higher. Interestingly, the teachers preferred the convergent to the divergent thinkers!

Torrance (1960) reports partial substantiation of this study in elementary, high school, and university groups. He found in all situations a significant difference between the mean intelligence scores of the two groups. The only two cases, out of the eight studied, where creative or divergent thinkers failed to do as well or better scholastically than did the convergent thinkers were two elementary schools which seemed to value "traditional" learning.

Of particular importance to psychologists, school counselors, and educational administrators is his finding that, if a "gifted" group were being selected for special work, such as the many programs for the academically talented which are in operation, "about seventy percent of the most creatives would have been eliminated . . . on the basis of the intelligence test or Miller Analogies" (Torrance, 1960, p. 7). Many a creative high school youth, on the basis of IQ and teacher choice, would thus be overlooked.

Of course, considering his perception of self and world and the stress on convergent thinking in these special courses, the creative adolescent may well be better off out of such classes. Nevertheless, if we are as concerned with fostering creativity as we say we are—evidence from both the Getzels-Jackson and Torrance studies shows that these youngsters achieve as well as the convergent thinkers in

school—we need to broaden our definition of talent and modify both our selection and teaching procedures.

Certainly, by late adolescence, intellectual functioning is an extremely complex system of behavior. The boy or girl manifests many types of intelligent behavior, some of which are perceived by adults as more "intelligent" than others. The behavior of the high school youth is learned; this implies that the way he is taught, both by precept at home and by intent in school, will influence his intellectual development. Not only his total score on IQ tests but also, and of more fundamental importance, the way in which he approaches and solves his problems will be influenced by the nature of the experiences with which he is provided.

Interests

The main differences between the interest patterns of early and late adolescents can be seen in terms of quantity and variability. School demands more and more time, so leisure pursuits must decrease. The importance of heterosexual interests increases, so time spent in sports and other physical pursuits decreases. The trend is away from participating in play and toward becoming a spectator, notably of varsity athletes.

Interest patterns, including vocational interests, tend toward more stability during the late adolescent period. With the decrease in absolute number of interests comes the concentration of effort on fewer activities. If a boy is interested in collecting, he moves from collecting everything to collecting stamps, coins, girls, or some particular class of objects.

Accompanying this "specializing" process is the trend to higher levels of complexity. This can be seen not only in an organized sport, such as football with its variety of formations, plays, and options, but also in hobbies. For example, when a youngster owns a hot rod, he learns a whole new language and engages in complicated operations to modify engine and chassis in order to produce a "new" car.

INTERESTS AND THE SELF. The idiosyncratic, personal, and "self" nature of interests becomes even more visible in late adolescence than in earlier periods of life. Choice of particular interests, degree

of variability, and depth or breadth of interests reflect the adolescent's self-image as well as peer situation.

For example, stability of vocational interest choices were examined by Schmidt and Rothney (1955) who found that only one-fifth of the youth they studied expressed the same choice throughout high school and during the follow-up after graduation. Approximately one-half were consistent in their last two years, one-third for three years. Though we can identify the trend toward increasing consistency, we need to recognize that, for the individual adolescent, maturation is only one factor. Who constituted the one-fifth who were highly consistent? What were their choices? What led them to consistency? These are self-factors, often unknown or unexplored.

Several additional clues as to the relationship between self and interest patterns may be found in the Marks (1957) study and the previously mentioned work by Getzels and Jackson (1960). Marks used the Adolescent Growth Study material to explore the interaction between interests and clique leadership. He found, on an interest questionnaire, that those who are identified as leaders by their peers "do not follow the norms of the group to the extent of being conformists and may actually be more deviant in their interest behavior than are followers" (Marks, 1957, p. 172). Since his test was verbal, there may be a discrepancy between interests checked and those actually pursued, but this study may indicate a relationship between peer status and diversity of interests. It is impossible to assign the causes of such a relationship at this time with the little we know. It may be that once a youngster has status in his adolescent peer group he becomes free to deviate. It may be, though more unlikely, that those who deviate somewhat, at least verbally, are accorded status.

The Getzels and Jackson study included work in the area of occupational choice. The "creative" (divergent thinkers) and the "intelligent" (convergent thinkers) were given sentence-completion and other personality tests. They found that the high-creatives not only mentioned *more* choices but also more unusual fields, choosing such careers as adventurer, writer, and inventor rather than doctor, lawyer, and professor. In discussing the meaning of their findings, they state that "the high IQ adolescent may be seen as

preferring the anxieties and delights of safety, the high-creativity adolescent the anxieties and delights of growth.

. . . the differences between the high-IQ's and the high-creatives are not restricted to their intellectual performance or to their occupational choice. The data concerning both cognitively-oriented and socially-oriented behavior are of a piece; the characteristics that describe one describe the other. The high-IQ's tended to converge upon stereotyped meanings, to perceive personal success by conventional standards, to move toward the model provided by teachers, to seek out careers that conform to what is expected of them. The high-creatives tended to diverge from stereotyped meanings, to move away from the model provided by teachers, to seek out careers that do not conform to what is expected of them. It seems that the outstanding feature of all the data is the consistency of the cognitive (as defined by performance on intellective tasks) and the personal-social (as defined by occupational choice and career aspiration) aspects of behavior [Getzels and Jackson, 1960, p. 17].

REALITY OF CHOICE. We have noted the unreality of vocational choice in younger age groups. Although many high school seniors still are unsettled or unrealistic about vocational aspirations, there seems to be a movement toward more realistic choices.

In setting vocational goals, seniors show an awareness of reality factors, such as competition, training, and societal needs. For example, in a study of both immediate and long-range goals, the immediate goals perceived were graduation, good health, and acceptance into college. Longer-range goals were family- and job-oriented. There were intelligence and social-class differences which also indicated a greater awareness of reality. For instance, brighter youngsters perceived college as immediate, and viewed competition, hard work, and lack of confidence as obstacles; less bright youngsters saw entry into the labor force or armed services as immediate, and lack of ability, being drafted, and a poor educational background as obstacles (Crowley, 1959).

In general, then, adolescents' interests reflect the movement toward a more integrated self-picture. Interest patterns include a clearer understanding of the future and the world at large. They are less dependent on particular situations and more stable. By the end of late adolescence, the adolescents' interests and aspirations resemble those of adults. The transition from the less complex, more open, variable interests of the child to the more complex, specialized, relatively fixed adult pattern is being completed.

The Self-Concept

Self-Definition

SEX-ROLE IDENTIFICATION. We have seen throughout this book that identification is a key process in self-development. In these last chapters on adolescence, we have recognized that the establishment of identity and integration are closely related to acceptance of one's biocultural sex-role. We know that adolescents, viewed externally, are working on their sex-role through dating and other peer group activities, through vocational and recreational patterns, and through family transactions.

We may infer from their actions that sex-appropriate behavior increases, especially for girls, in the late adolescent years, and tends to become more stable for both sexes with increasing age (Zuk, 1958).

As a way of gathering data, we may ask youth how they look at sex-roles. We know that concepts of sex-appropriate behavior are changing in the American culture. How are these changes reflected in the self-concepts of late adolescents? McKee and Sherriffs (1959) used an adjective check list with California college freshmen men and women. These students were asked to check for ideal self, real self, ideal member of opposite sex, and beliefs (what they think others expect of them).

Their findings clearly indicate that these college youngsters are aware of changing social patterns. The man now includes in his evaluation of his real self formerly female characteristics of warmth, human feelings, and concern for interpersonal relations. He recognizes that women want these characteristics in him, and he accepts them as part of his real self, although he does not fully accept them into his ideal self. The woman, on the other hand, does not incorporate such male attributes as aggressive, rugged, and daring behavior into her ideal self.

Two conclusions emerge: First, in contrast to our earlier discussion (see chapters on preadolescence) of constriction of the male role, these college students see the female role as more sex-typed and the male role as less rigid. Second, in agreement with our hypotheses of the girl's self-concept, the woman's real self in this study is seen as more unfavorable than the men's. Both sexes are aware of

the changing culture, but boys seem to feel more positively about themselves and their roles than do their female college classmates.

We should emphasize that this study (and several other studies we will cite in this section) was on college students. We have no guarantee that college youngsters are typical late adolescents. Indeed, we may hypothesize, and receive support from research, that they are not. It may be that noncollege-attending late adolescent girls perceive themselves favorably, and that noncollege-attending men are less "feminine." A recent survey of adult mental health (Gurin, Veroff, and Feld, 1960) reveals that increased education is related to a more feminine (human relationship) orientation and that college women are more aware of the stresses of living.

Although the men in the California study accepted human relationships as part of the male self-concept, this does not mean that feminine interest patterns are also being incorporated. There is a difference between perceiving that one can be both warm and masculine and wishing to become feminine. Rosen, using the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI), found that "the more feminine interests the male shows, the poorer the integration" of his total personality (Rosen, 1956, p. 51).

We can summarize by saying that central to the self-concept of the late adolescent is his identification with and acceptance of his sex-role. Although the specific behavioral aspects of this role may change as the culture changes, the essential definition of self as male or female does not change. It is only when the man or woman both identifies and accepts his or her sex role that he or she becomes fully able to establish a healthy marital relationship and provide for children the emotional climate which will enable them, in turn, to develop satisfactorily. This particular development does not end with the passing of adolescence, but the basic pattern must certainly be established.

Personal Attributes

When late adolescents define themselves, what do they consider as good personal attributes? Three studies, all on college freshmen, shed some light on this. Matteson (1956) used a self-evaluating scale with 400 freshmen at Michigan State University. He asked them to answer for self, projected (future) self, and reflected (how they thought others saw them) self. Rosen (1956) analyzed MMPI data

on Minnesota University students. Both agreed that these youngsters saw themselves as people of high energy and high interest, and that these were desirable traits. Further, Matteson found that they held high levels of aspiration for themselves; they might be characterized as holding "great expectations."

Rosen reports that "belief that defensiveness, unattainably high moral behavior, extraversion . . . are desirable" (Rosen, 1956, p. 51). He notes a good deal of caution in their approach to personality testing.

This view of self as a "gung-ho" person, in the parlance of American college students, is not clearly projected in a study of Oklahoma students from essentially rural backgrounds. When asked to describe themselves through compositions, they concentrated on what might be called more central aspects of self. They described more what they were than what they did. For example, terms such as character, belongingness, tolerance, self-confidence, independence, responsibility, and ethical standards formed the themes of their answers to the topic, "Significant Factors in my Personality Formation" (Ostlund, 1957). Interests, so vital to the Michigan students, were insignificant to the Oklahomans.

What can we extract from these data? The reported self of late adolescents reflects what they perceive to be the socially acceptable response: one should be active, optimistic, and an affiliator, at least. It is not clear how open college students are to giving valid views of themselves through tests and self-reports. More studies, particularly of the self-concept of late high school youth, are needed before we can formulate any definite picture of the way adolescents conceive of their personality structure.

Problems

Some ideas of adolescents' self-concepts can be gleaned from studying what they present as their problems and concerns. Analysis of problem check lists and opinion poll data yields further evidence that the American adolescent views social acceptance as a primary value. He evaluates himself on the basis of his success in the social whirl.

The results of the Purdue Opinion Polls dramatically highlight this conclusion. When teen-agers were asked about their problems, only four items were reported by at least half: get stage fright be-

fore a group, want to gain (or lose) weight, want people to like me more, and want to make new friends. Between 40 and 50 percent responded: seldom have dates, wish I were more popular, have a "crush" on boy (girl), or do things I later regret (Remmers and Radler, 1960, p. 604).

Harris (1959) restudied the problems and interests reported by adolescents in 1957 as compared to 1935. He found there were several shifts in problems. Concern for mental health moved from low to high on the list, while physical health moved the other way. Boys' concern about manners changed from low to high. Girls' interests in love and marriage, as we would expect, increased from 1935 to 1957.

The change in concern for mental health is revealing. It reflects the change in culture over the 22 years and probably the more person-oriented self of today's adolescent. It seems to go along with the other aspects of the self-concept. In his efforts to be a part of the group and to be popular, the adolescent probably recognizes the stresses this places upon his individuality. He is seeking selfhood, yet yields to group pressure. In a culture full of psychological terms, such as adjustment and security, it is no wonder that he sees his own mental health as a problem. The fact that he places mental health high on his list may be a way of telling us that he has not yet found himself and solved the problem of individuality and group living.

Further evidence of the central role of mental health in the self-picture of adolescents is contained in a Canadian study. Lent used the Rotter Incomplete Sentence Blank with over 400 high school girls, ages 14 through 18. She found that the greatest number of problems fell under the heading of personal-psychological. This included self-criticism, lack of self-acceptance or acceptance by others, and items which would reflect negative self-appraisal. The number of such problems increased with age, according to her study. Again, we find adolescent girls expressing many negative self-feelings.

In general, the problems indicated by adolescents may show that a major part of their self-definition is dependent upon their perception of their status with their peers. Girls' problems indicate support for the finding, derived from other approaches to self-concept, that

they tend to devalue themselves. The transactional nature of the self-concept may be seen in the changes in the problems listed by two generations of adolescents.

The relationship between the values of adolescents and their self-definition is marked. Both facets reveal the tremendous importance of "other-direction" in the life of the adolescent.

Stability and Self-Acceptance

In Chapter 16, we examined the evidence concerning the stability of the early adolescent's self-concept. Those studies also included data on late adolescence. In general, there seems to be a movement toward both increased stability and more positive self-report in late adolescence. We can hypothesize that this is in keeping with what is known about development. We would expect that the 18-year-old will be closer to finding himself than the 13-year-old. He is more able to differentiate various aspects of himself and see the world more realistically.

Again, we may guess that the important variable in the stability of his self-concept is the nature of the self-concept itself. If he feels relatively adequate and secure, the chances are that he will continue to preserve this view. He may change peripheral perceptions, or more surface-level concepts, but he will not make a fundamental shift in the core of his self.

This would probably be less true of the youngster who is still seeking evidence as to who he is. He is probably more open to environmental evaluations of himself and thus more prone to instability. Of course, this is somewhat hypothetical, but seems to be supported by clinical data.

The degree of distortion of perception of self and world is probably related to both the stability and reality of the self-concept in adolescence. The youngster who feels adequate can afford to see self and world for what they are. He has established his anchorage points, including himself as one. He is more open to the meaning of his experience, to his own feelings, and to self-evaluations than is the youngster who is either seeking to find himself, or who has defined himself in negative fashion.

There seems to be a relationship, although the evidence is conflicting, between religiosity and self-acceptance. For instance, Strunk had high school students complete a self-rating inventory and also

a report on religious activity. He found "a definite tendency for religiously-oriented adolescents to have relatively affirmative self-concepts as compared with less religiously-oriented adolescents" (Strunk, 1958, p. 685). Considering our transactional position, this would seem to make sense. However, much research needs to be done in this field, including not only the relationship between religion and self-acceptance but also between religion and general values and self-concept.

The impact of the early adolescent growth experience on the self of the late adolescent and adult seems to be long-lasting. Jones (1957) followed up the early- and late-maturing boys who were studied at 17 when they were 33. She found that, on personality tests, the psychological differences between these groups had persisted although, of course, the physical differences had disappeared.

Stability of self-concept thus seems to be more or less established in the late adolescent years. Stability, the tendency to stay the same and to be consistent in one's view over a period of time, should not be confused with rigidity. The youngster with a concept of self which is secure and adequate can and will modify his behavior on the basis of his evaluation of his experience.

Rogers describes the fully functioning person as one who is open, without the need for defense, to his experience. Further, this person trusts himself and his organism. He finds that his own self-system, in open transaction with the environment, is trustworthy. Since he is so self-accepting that he need not distort the perceptual world, this trust usually leads to good social and personal decisions (Rogers, 1958).

Maslow, in his discussion of self-actualizing persons, says:

Our healthy individuals find it possible to accept themselves and their own nature without chagrin or complaint or, for that matter, even without thinking about the matter very much.

They can accept their own human nature with all its shortcomings, with all its discrepancies from the ideal image without feeling real concern. It would convey the wrong impression to say that they are self-satisfied. What we must say rather is that they can take the frailties and sins, weaknesses and evils of human nature in the same unquestioning spirit that one takes or accepts the characteristics of nature. One does not complain about water because it is wet or about rocks because they are hard or about trees because they are green. As the child looks out upon the world with wide, uncritical, innocent eyes, simply noting and observ-

ing what is the case, without either arguing the matter or demanding that it be otherwise, so does the self-actualizing person look upon human nature in himself and in others [Maslow, 1955, pp. 206-207].

This should not be taken to mean that the typical late adolescent has reached this degree of self-acceptance; indeed, he is far from it. As we saw earlier, he is highly motivated to please others, to be "other-directed." However, with age and experience, building upon a foundation of feelings of identification, adequacy, and security, he can move toward the type of health which Rogers and Maslow describe. His stability will then be an inner one.

Self-Concept and Behavior

Our basic assumption throughout this book is that behavior is strongly influenced by the self-concept. In the late adolescent period, we can examine this relationship in respect to school, peers, and goal-setting behavior.

School Achievement

Why some bright youngsters do poorly in school is a question of great concern, because of our desire to enable each child to achieve his maximum development. What makes a gifted adolescent an "underachiever"? Counselors who have engaged in research on this question seem to agree that gifted underachieving adolescents perceive themselves differently than do their peers. These youngsters, as seen by observers, are hostile, unsociable, indifferent to their responsibilities, and hard to reach. In addition—or perhaps at the root of the problem—most of them question their giftedness (Broedel *et al.*, 1959). When asked to rate themselves by means of an adjective check list, the results show "male underachievers seem to have more negative feelings about themselves than do male achievers. Female underachievers tend to be ambivalent with regard to their feelings toward themselves" (Shaw *et al.*, 1960, p. 195). They just don't believe they are good, and resist the pressures and demands for performance which are placed upon them by parents and teachers.

We would expect that high-achievers value themselves and their ability, and see themselves as able to learn. What little research there is seems to support this expectation. In spite of the differences in their approach to problems, both the convergent and divergent thinkers we described earlier in this chapter (see *Intellectual De-*

velopment) achieved highly and did not differ on their needs for achievement. They shared a common concept of self as "able."

The Quincy study of achievement yields similar results. High-achieving boys seem to possess strong needs for achievement, and view school as a favorable environment and self as industrious and imaginative. They also express high educational motivation. The girls follow this pattern, except on need for achievement, and score even higher than the boys on seeing self as active and industrious and school as positive (Pierce and Bowman, 1960).

Thus, from studies of both high and underachievers in high school, the pattern of the relationship between self-concept and achievement becomes clearer. There is a relationship between positive self-concept and high achievement; negative self-concept and underachievement. The research does not indicate which is cause or effect. Chances are we can see a circular pattern beginning earlier with perception of experiences as "successes" or "failures" leading to development of a concept of self which, in turn, influences both the selection and evaluation of subsequent experiences.

Once the adolescent perceives self as "unable," the job of the adult should become one of helping the youngster change this image to a more positive one. This is no easy task, but certain conclusions are obvious. Scolding, threatening, lecturing, creation of guilt, or increasing demands only make matters worse; these act as a threat to the youngster rather than as a help. To say "You can do it if you only try harder" is perceived not as encouragement, but as further evidence of need to defend one's integrity from adult pressures. We have indicated, however, throughout the book, the type of emotional climate and support we believe would promote growth toward positive self-concept.

Self and Other

Does the adolescent's self-concept influence his acceptance of and by his peers? Is acceptance of self related to acceptance of others? Most of the research on the latter question, unfortunately, has been done either on older age groups or on clinical cases. We may summarize it by saying that the relationship is present, and the problems of demonstrating it seem to be more a matter of technique than theory. A big stumbling block has been the inability to agree on

what constitutes self-acceptance and how it should be measured (Gordon and Combs, 1958).

Several approaches have been used to answer this question with respect to high school youngsters. Combinations of Q-sort, sociometric techniques, and self-rating techniques have been used. The results seem to indicate the following: first, adolescent scout leaders perceive themselves as more able to supply leadership behavior than do nonleaders. These leaders were elected by their peers (Wilk, 1957). Second, Catholic senior high school girls who were seen as accepting self and other (Q-sort) had better interpersonal relationships, as measured by sociometrics, than those who were not accepting (Kennedy, 1958). Third, in a study of high school juniors at the Illinois University High School, no relationship was found between the ability to perceive one's own peer status and that of others. The ability to perceive one's own status was related, however, to social effectiveness for girls (Ausubel and Schiff, 1955).

Where does this leave us? The safest position to take is that there seems to be some relationship between concept of self and peers and peer status. The data on peer life and the adolescent value system would certainly suggest a high relationship. We still lack evidence approaching the problem from a self, transactional point of view. Theoretically, we may assume that the way one sees self and peers is a crucial concept; research, however, lags behind the theory.

Self and Social Mobility

Does the way the adolescent sees himself relate to mobility? Does the boy who drops out of high school, and settles for a lower-class position, do so in relation to his view of self? Does the lower-class boy who makes the effort to go to college see himself differently than his peers?

At a time when the society as a whole sees education as important to national survival, questions about who quits and who continues school are crucial. We know a substantial number of adolescents with ability to succeed do not seek higher education for a variety of reasons. Here we are concerned with whether self-concept is one such reason.

Two studies seem to be related to these questions. We may assume that one tool for upward social mobility is increased education. Douvan and Adelson studied high school boys for the characteristics

of upward- and downward-mobile youth. The upward-mobile boys are not only more energetic, active, and independent of their parents, but they also see themselves differently:

Upward mobile boys show a high degree of self-acceptance, and a confidence in social situations . . . we find signs of self-rejection and demoralization in the downward mobile boys' answers to the questions, "What would you like to change about yourself if you could—about your looks, or your life or your personality?" They more often desire changes so gross or so central as to indicate alienation from the self; and they more often wish for changes that are unlikely to occur. The upward mobile boy more often refers to changes he has the power to effect himself. He is more realistically critical of himself, and less self-rejecting [Douvan and Adelson, 1958, pp. 39–40].

Beilin's research into the upward-mobile boy of the lower class reinforces these findings. This boy is independent of his family and sees self as able to achieve more than the family has (with their blessings). He has high energy, and has shifted his identification to include school personnel and upward-mobile peers. He has taken over the school values as a part of his self (Beilin, 1956).

These studies suggest a clear relationship between self-acceptance, the accomplishment of self-identification and independence, high energy, and upward mobility. We may suggest, therefore, that one answer to the question of who stays in school and goes on to college is: the youngster who feels adequate and has good reason to hope for success. When we connect these views of self with those actually expressed by college freshmen (see Personal Attributes) we find striking similarities. The upward-mobile high school boy expresses values and self-estimates similar to those of college youth.

Summary

Late adolescence is a period of both increasing complexity of behavior and the integration of the self. The adolescent becomes more "adult" in his attitudes and values and in his clearer view of his self. Within the self-system, his personal organization becomes stable.

He has not yet reached the point of self-definition, however, in which he accepts his own uniqueness as desirable and worthwhile. Even though he differs from his peers in many ways, he still seeks their acceptance. He has a somewhat narrow perspective, and still

lacks a broad view of man. He is more peer-group oriented than self-oriented and is subject to many demands for conformity. His behavior seems to be more oriented toward immediate rather than long-range goals, and he seems to lack the desire to postpone present satisfaction for future good.

Intellectually, he is capable of highly complex, abstract thought. He can engage in both logical operations and imaginative endeavors, and he can use problem-solving approaches to complex problems. The extent to which he uses a variety of the intellectual factors of which he is capable seems to be highly related to learning and experience. If he has been taught to think in creative ways, and the experiences have encouraged him to apply thought processes to a variety of issues, the late adolescent is able to utilize these skills.

Those who think creatively, or divergently, rather than convergently, seem to perceive self and world in different fashions. Some are able to do both, and this would seem to be highly desirable.

In terms of interests and aspirations, the late adolescent has become more realistic. For some, however, particularly those who are college-bound, it may be still too early to make vocational decisions, but rather the late adolescent should be subject to broadening experiences in general education.

The late adolescent, on the whole, has identified successfully with the appropriate sex-role. His concepts of the behavior which accompany playing the role still fluctuates somewhat with cultural change, but, generally, he knows who he is and is ready, in this regard, for a marriage relationship.

His behavior in school and with his peers and family seems to be more a function of his self-concept than his general ability. The use to which he puts his self-system seems to be determined not only by specific concepts of self in relation to life situations, but also, and more fundamentally, related to the core of his self: his concept of his own adequacy and security. Success or failure in academic achievement, work, and human relationships are all tied into his view of self.

Since late adolescence is an integrating period, the view of self he holds becomes less open to easy modification by environmental forces. Although the self is always an open system, the defenses of the person become less permeable with age. As new experiences in adulthood—marriage, career, and children—occur, certain aspects of self will continue to develop and become more elaborated. The de-

gree of self-consistency, already developed as youth enters adulthood, is high and the direction of self-development is fairly well set.

We may expect comparatively little fundamental change in basic orientation toward self and life during the early adult period. The values and self-concepts held by the late adolescent will essentially continue to be the values and self-concept held during the next period of development. He will still be essentially oriented toward social acceptability, status and achievement, and the world outlook labeled "privatism." It is perhaps only with success in meeting these needs that he will become able to move on toward the goal of health and self-actualization described by Rogers (1958) and Maslow (1955).

A Final Word

What are some of the implications of these conclusions? It is beyond the scope of this book to present a list of specific "oughts" to parents, teachers, and other professionals who work with children and youth. To do so, considering the point of view maintained throughout this book, would be presumptuous on the part of the author. If, however, we accept the challenge of individuality, and the goal of self-development for youth, several generalizations suggest themselves. They are presented not as solutions, or cookbook gimmicks, but only as guideposts for further study and thought. They fall into two categories: research and application.

Research Needed

We have seen that we still know very little about the private world of children and youth. If we accept the importance of the self as a main governor of behavior, we then need to develop research methods to learn more about (1) concept formation including self-concept formation, (2) the relationships between self-concept, behavior, and experience, (3) the impact of others, especially family, peer, and school on the developing self of the child, and (4) techniques for securing valid pictures of self-concept, whether through the interpretation of behavior, projective techniques, or self-report.

All these research efforts, however, should fall within a value framework based upon respect for the integrity and individuality of the person. We have no right to violate the child's private world to use the data against him. How can we learn more about the late

adolescent, for example, and still leave him free? We saw that college students are apt to be cautious and defensive about personality tests. They have learned that discretion pays. How can we teach them that we wish to know them better—not in order to force, cajole, and control them, but to open up for them worlds of experience they may otherwise never know? The implications for research and application in connection with social values are serious, and we can only suggest their existence here.

Application

Throughout this book, suggestions about application have been made in relation to some specific factors and specific periods of development. For example, we have suggested that the junior high school youngster should not be pushed to vocational decision-making. We have suggested the importance of sound and continuing father and son relationships, not only as a preventive of adolescent aggression but also as an important force in positive identification and the development of secure and adequate concepts of self. Rather than review all of these, we shall mention here only some ideas about adolescence. These represent by no means an all-inclusive view, but have been chosen merely to highlight certain problems.

In Chapter 17 we mentioned some implications for parents about sexual behavior and independence. The importance of body image to the self of the adolescent suggests that some agency, either the home or school, needs to concern itself more with preparing youth for adolescent body changes, the meaning of these changes, and the chances that a particular boy or girl will be temporarily out-of-step with his peers. With the pressure to be like others, and the odds that one won't be what he'd like to be physically, it is important that adults assist youngsters in accepting themselves. The effects of non-acceptance seem to linger for a long time, and it may be that they can be diminished if assistance is given as early as preadolescence.

The role of the school is not fully understood, but the data seem to indicate quite clearly a relationship between self-concept and achievement. Although the research, because of our limited techniques, cannot state cause and effect, for practical purposes we may assume this relationship.

The task of the school, then, is to develop in youth concepts of adequacy, self-respect, and self-confidence. Since these concepts

depend upon experiences in being evaluated in these ways and being treated as worthy, the implications for school practice are many. As only one example, can we really demonstrate trust in youth when we allow them virtually no choice? If we perceive guidance, for example, as testing and steering, how can the adolescent learn to value his own decisions? If we assign youngsters to classes not on the basis of their self-concepts, motivation, and interests, but on the basis of standardized intelligence tests, how can the creative youngster experience his worth? How can the youngster with high motivation, but less than the 120 or 130 IQ demanded, see himself as adequate? Especially when we know that motivation contributes as much as ability to success, how can we continue to justify exclusion on the basis of ability alone?

The question remains: how can we so organize the school and teaching so that we demonstrate our belief in individuality and in the validity of the youngster's self-concept? How can we make the educational experience in high school less constrictive and more broadening? This works both ways: we need to allow the youngster who perhaps does not fit definitions of "giftedness" to try the advanced math course if he so desires, and to allow the youngster who fits the definition to take typing if he sees this as important to him.

With all the clamor for making gifted children a natural resource, we must not overlook the basic fact that they are boys and girls, not uranium or coal. There are many times when this author hopes that some gifted youth would choose auto mechanics or TV repairing. Who can judge for the person? It is his life and his right to choose. We hope he will not waste it, but who can determine what is truly wasteful—a career choice in which he is happy and profitably engaged and at peace with self and world, or one in which he goes through the motions, because he ought to, but feels little satisfaction?

We need, therefore, to find ways in which youth can use their talents fully, but which allow them wide opportunities for exploration, even if this means the postponement of decision-making until after high school graduation or even, for the college-bound, until after the first two years of college.

The evidence points up the narrow view of the adolescent about other groups of people outside his immediate circle of family and peers. He knows little about other cultures, even other culture groups in his own country. He tends to see different customs or religious

beliefs as somehow inferior to his own. He has distorted perceptions of other class and ethnic groups within the broad American culture. Even within the consolidated, comprehensive high school he has little contact with others in ways which modify his perceptions.

One of the greatest challenges of the transactional view of adolescence rests in the area of modification of concepts of those who differ from oneself. All we can do is pinpoint the issue: schools and youth-serving agencies need to develop techniques for broadening the individual adolescent's experiences with other culture groups. Of course, those situations in which the individual develops more self-acceptance must be provided as an accompaniment. We know there is a relationship between acceptance of self and acceptance of others. We probably cannot expect the adolescent to learn to accept others if he lacks self-acceptance. Ways need to be found in which both goals are accomplished.

Knowledge of how adolescents conceive of self and other, and knowledge of how this influences behavior, leads to a host of implications with regard to the role of adults in assisting them to find and develop themselves. We can only hope that such knowledge will be used within the democratic ethos. The goal of all development, as we said in the first chapter, is to maximize and use one's capacities to the fullest. With this goal in mind, those of us who work with youth can find many ways to help them move toward healthy adulthood.

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Index of Names

- Abrams, B. K., 121, 122
Adelson, J., 381, 382, 387
Allport, F., 21
Alpers, T. C., 120, 121, 122
Amatora, M., 247, 248, 261, 334
Ames, A., 95
Ames, L. B., 85, 86, 98, 102, 104, 109
Amundson, C. L., 353, 360
Anastasi, A., 185, 186, 140
Anderson, H., 218, 225
Anderson, L., 307, 312
Annett, M., 233, 240
Arey, L. B., 91
Armheim, R., 129, 140
Ausubel, D., 105, 109, 161, 176, 179,
204, 216, 225, 323, 324, 330, 334,
346, 361, 381, 387
Axtell, W. B., 159
- Bacon, Sir F., 64
Baker, S., 233, 240
Baldwin, A., 259, 260, 261, 262
Bandura, A., 293, 294, 312, 342, 345,
361
Barker, R., 126, 137, 141, 168, 180,
299
Barr, J., 344, 361
Bayley, N., 10, 14, 21, 94, 109, 232,
240, 274, 282, 289, 315, 316, 317,
335
Beasley, J., 86
Behrens, L., 51, 61
Beilin, H., 382, 387
Bell, H., 389
Beller, E., 318, 335
Bender, L., 51, 61, 84, 85, 87
Benedict, R., 57, 61
Benne, K., 168, 180
Berenda, R., 223, 225
Bettelheim, B., 57, 61
Biber, B., 200, 201, 204
Blair, A., 225
Blane, H. T., 121, 122
Boas, F., 31
Bobroff, O., 259, 262
Bonney, M., 165, 180
Bowman, P., 342, 343, 362, 380, 388
Boyd, W. C., 29, 39
Brandt, R., 257, 258, 262, 330, 331,
335
Breed, W., 357, 358, 361
Brewer, J., 218, 225
Broedel, J., 379, 381
Brown, A., 327, 335
Brown, D. G., 112, 122, 199, 204, 243,
262
Bruce, P., 257, 262
Bruner, E., 138, 141
Burchinal, L., 205, 225
Burke, B. S., 33, 39
Burton, W., 225
- Calogeras, R., 332, 335
Cameron, N., 7, 21
Cannon, W. B., 9, 21
Cantril, H., 10, 15, 17, 21, 22, 87
Carmichael, L., 36, 40
Carrillo, L., 187, 141
Cattell, R., 9, 135
Child, I. L., 49, 62
Christensen, H., 357, 361
Church, J., 68, 87
Clark, K., 138, 141
Cobb, H., 248, 262, 323, 335
Cogan, M., 353, 361
Coleman, W., 141
Combs, A. W., 4, 19, 21, 137, 141,
381, 388
Conant, J., 298
Connor, R., 295, 312
Cordova, F., 135, 136, 140
Coward, E., 100, 110
Crane, A. R., 171, 172, 180, 243, 244,
262
Crist, J., 357, 361
Cross, R. E., 159
Crowley, F., 372, 387
Cunningham, R., 174, 180
Curran, R. L., 145, 159
Cutts, W., 137, 141
- Dahlke, H. O., 158
Dahms, L., 105, 110
Dales, R., 328, 335
D'Angelo, R., 136, 140
Davidon, R., 233, 240
Davidson, H., 283, 289
Davis, A., 55, 134, 141, 350, 361
Davitz, J., 180
DeHirsch, K., 185, 204
Dewey, J., 197, 204
Dickson, L., 356, 361
Dinitz, S., 336
Dorr, M., 205, 335
Douvan, E., 343, 361, 381, 382, 387
Durkin, D., 198, 204
Dyer, C., 298, 312
- Edson, K., 389
Eichorn, D., 278, 289
Elkin, F., 295, 312
Elkins, D., 307, 308, 309, 311, 312

- Engel, M., 335
 Erikson, E. H., 67, 87, 269, 270
 Estes, B., 195, 196, 204
 Eustis, H., 242, 262
- Farnham, M., 289, 346, 347, 361
 Faust, M., 289
 Fearing, F., 142
 Feifel, H., 194, 204
 Feinberg, M., 164, 180, 309, 310, 312
 Feld, S., 374, 388
 Finch, H. M., 103, 110
 Fisher, A., 40
 Fisher, E., 301, 309, 312
 Fisher, L., 251, 262
 Fisher, S., 251, 262
 Foshay, A., 237, 238, 240
 Frank, L. K., 4, 21, 35, 40, 51, 61,
 295, 312
 Freedman, M., 351, 361, 364, 388
 Freeman, G. L., 8, 21
 Freud, S., 82, 249
- Gallagher, C. D., 21
 Gallagher, J. R., 21
 Gardner, B., 205, 225
 Gardner, G., 46, 61, 205, 270, 302,
 312
 Garrison, W. A., 335
 Garry, R., 157, 159
 Gasser, E., 204
 Gesell, A., 9, 10, 47, 202, 205
 Getzels, J., 353, 361, 368, 369, 371,
 372, 388
 Gibb, E., 234, 235, 240
 Glidewell, J., 188, 205
 Goertzen, S., 335
 Goldstein, K., 21, 22, 74, 87
 Collin, E. S., 236, 237, 240
 Goodman, M., 249, 250, 262
 Gordon, C. W., 299, 352, 353, 354,
 356, 361
 Gordon, I. J., 19, 22, 155, 159, 167,
 180, 191, 192, 205, 256, 257, 262,
 308, 312, 381, 388
 Gottlieb, L., 283, 289
 Granick, S., 234, 240
 Gray, S., 244, 262
 Greene, H., 312
 Greulich, W. W., 134, 141, 289
 Gronlund, N., 163, 167, 175, 180, 307,
 312
 Guilford, J., 367, 368, 388
 Gurin, G., 374, 388
- Hanley, C., 306, 312
 Harris, D., 167, 180, 215, 221, 225,
 376, 388
 Harrower, M., 236, 237, 238, 240
- Havighurst, R., 55, 134, 141, 145, 159,
 180, 186, 187, 205, 330, 385
 Hawkes, G., 50, 61, 205, 214, 225
 Hebb, D. O., 17, 22, 71, 87
 Heber, R., 165, 180
 Helper, M., 292, 312
 Henry, J., 45, 61
 Hill, T., 153, 159, 335
 Hilliard, F., 240
 Himmelweit, H., 130, 141
 Hindsman, E., 336
 Hines, V. A., 145, 159
 Hoch, A., 148, 159
 Hollingworth, H., 363, 388
 Hollinshead, B. S., 145
 Holmes, F., 119, 122
 Holt, L., 277, 289
 Hoover, K., 344, 361
 Hunt, J. McV., 22
 Hurlock, E., 185, 193, 205
- Ilg, F., 202, 205
 Inhelder, B., 95, 110
 Ireland, R., 138, 141
 Ittleson, W. H., 15, 22, 95, 96, 97, 110
- Jackson, E. B., 9, 10, 22
 Jackson, P., 353, 361, 368, 369, 371,
 372, 388
 Jennings, E., 336
 Jersild, A. T., 119, 122, 190, 205, 217,
 225, 228, 229, 240, 251, 252, 253,
 254, 255, 256, 262
 Jones, H. E., 135, 141, 211, 213, 225
 Jones, M., 282, 289, 378, 388
 Jones, N., 282, 283, 284, 289
 Jones, V., 236, 238, 240
 Jordon, G., 301, 309, 312
- Kagan, J., 113, 122, 187, 205, 232, 240
 Katcher, A., 99, 110
 Kauffmann, M., 247, 262
 Ken-Ichiro, I., 319, 320-321, 335
 Kennedy, P., 381, 388
 Kerlinger, F., 139, 141
 Kiell, N., 140, 141
 King, D., 40
 Klatskin, E., 48, 61
 Knobloch, H., 136, 141
 Koch, H., 44, 46, 61, 103, 104, 110,
 187, 188, 205
 Kowatrakul, S., 240
 Krevelen, A., 335
 Krogman, W., 212, 225
 Kvaraceus, W., 166, 174, 180
- Laird, D., 219, 225
 Lambert, W. E., 104, 110
 Landreth, C., 119

- Latchaw, M., 212, 226
 Lebo, D., 283, 289
 Lent, A., 376, 388
 Levin, H., 117, 122, 259, 260, 261, 262
 Levin, M., 99, 110
 Lewin, K., 4, 218, 226, 268, 270
 Lippitt, R., 218, 219, 226, 310, 313
 Lipsitt, L. P., 257, 262
 Livson, N., 332, 336
 Longo, N., 233, 240
 Loomis, M., 215, 226
 Lorge, I., 194, 204
 Lowrey, G. H., 33, 40, 88, 89, 90, 110, 183, 184, 206, 211, 272, 273, 290
 Lowrie, S., 311, 312
 Lundberg, G., 356, 361
 Lunt, P., 178, 181
 Lustman, S. L., 39, 40
 Lynn, D. B., 112, 113, 122

 Maas, H., 356, 361
 McCarthy, D., 51, 61, 74, 87, 159
 Maccooby, E., 114, 115, 116, 122
 McCraw, L., 307, 312
 McCullough, C., 246, 262
 McDavid, J., 359, 361
 MacDonald, D., 335, 349, 361
 Macfarlane, J. W., 50, 61, 99, 110
 McGuire, C., 159, 170, 180
 McIntosh, R., 277, 289
 McKee, J., 278, 289, 373, 388
 McKee, R., 186, 205
 Magaret, A., 7, 21
 Marks, J. B., 371, 388
 Martin, S., 27, 28
 Martin, W. E., 100, 110, 114, 122
 Maslow, A. H., 17, 22, 378, 379, 384, 388
 Matteson, R., 374, 375, 388
 Maynard, H., 151, 159
 Mead, G. H., 83, 84, 87, 114, 122, 199, 200, 205
 Mead, M., 125, 126, 127, 141, 365, 366, 388
 Mensh, J., 188, 205
 Meredith, H., 88
 Metraux, R., 365, 366, 388
 Meyer, W., 237, 240
 Miller, D., 54, 55, 56, 58, 61, 215, 226
 Milne, A. A., 111
 Milner, E., 302, 303, 304-305, 307, 313, 325, 326, 327, 328, 334, 336
 More, D., 283, 289, 303, 307, 313
 Morris, C. W., 127, 128, 141
 Morris, J., 318, 319, 336
 Morrison, I., 165, 180
 Mott, S. M., 103, 110
 Moustakas, C., 202, 205
 Munro, B., 355, 361
 Murphy, G., 14, 17, 18, 19, 22, 79, 80, 86, 87, 108, 110, 189, 205
 Murphy, L., 83, 87, 110, 189, 205
 Murray, E., 336
 Mussen, P. H., 48, 62, 282, 283, 289, 345, 361
 Myers, R., 153, 159
 Myklebust, H., 78, 87

 Neugarten, D., 145, 159, 180
 Newcomb, T., 189, 205
 Newman, H. H., 31, 40
 Newton, K., 199, 206
 Newton, M., 48, 61

 O'Hara, R., 323, 330, 336
 Ohlsen, M., 387
 Ojemann, H., 157, 159
 Ojemann, R., 230, 232, 237, 238, 241
 Okaji, J., 363, 388
 Opler, M. K., 183, 141
 Orlansky, H., 48, 49, 51, 61
 Ostlund, L., 375, 388

 Parke, L., 172, 181
 Parkhurst, H., 216, 226
 Pasamanick, B., 186, 141
 Payne, D. E., 345, 361
 Pearce, D., 104, 110
 Peck, R., 343, 361
 Perkins, H., 256, 257, 262
 Perry, J., 165, 180
 Peterson, D. R., 103, 110
 Phillips, B., 332, 336
 Phillips, E., 316, 336
 Piaget, J., 95, 110, 195, 196, 205, 237, 238, 241, 259
 Pierce, J., 342, 343, 362, 380, 388
 Pinneau, S. R., 38, 40, 135, 141
 Pistor, F., 229, 241
 Pitts, J., 162, 180
 Polansky, N., 310, 313
 Pope, B., 222, 223, 226
 Powell, J., 165, 180
 Pratt, K., 37, 40
 Prescott, D., 51, 61, 149, 150, 159
 Proff, F., 387
 Psathas, G., 362

 Radke Yarrow, M., 113
 Radler, D., 320, 336, 376, 389
 Rapaport, D., 162, 180, 241
 Rarick, G. L., 186, 205
 Rarick, L., 182, 205
 Reckless, W., 333, 336
 Redl, F., 209, 226, 310, 313
 Reed, M., 225
 Remmers, H., 320, 336, 376, 389
 Renfroe, O., 175, 180
 Ribble, M., 38, 40
 Richard, S., 241

- Richmond, J. B., 39, 40
 Riesman, D., 174, 180, 307, 362
 Riess, A., 110
 Ritholtz, S., 319, 336
 Robinson, M., 205, 335
 Rock, I., 22
 Rodehaver, M. W., 159
 Roff, C., 328, 336
 Rogers, C., 22, 81, 83, 87, 378, 379,
 384, 389
 Romney, A., 362
 Rose, A., 345, 362
 Rosen, B., 178, 181
 Rosen, E., 374, 375, 389
 Rosenberg, B., 243, 262
 Rosenblith, J. F., 104, 110
 Rosenbloom, P. C., 196, 205
 Ross, S., 38, 40
 Rothney, J., 371, 389
 Rotter, J., 138, 141
 Rudman, H., 246, 263
 Russell, D., 107, 108, 110, 228, 231,
 241
 Sanford, R., 221, 222, 226
 Scandrette, O., 297, 313
 Scheinfeld, A., 26, 27, 40
 Schenk, Q., 362
 Schiff, H., 204, 323, 334, 381, 387
 Schmidt, J., 371, 389
 Schneider, M., 241
 Scott, Foresman & Company, 157, 159
 Sears, P. S., 117, 122, 258, 263
 Sears, R., 53, 54, 57, 58, 59, 61, 70,
 113, 122
 Shapiro, D., 202, 205
 Shapiro, H. L., 31
 Shaw, M., 379, 389
 Sheats, P., 180
 Sheldon, W., 137, 141
 Sherif, M., 87
 Sherriffs, A., 373, 388
 Shirley, M. M., 65, 87
 Shock, N., 278, 279, 289
 Shuey, A., 129, 141
 Siegel, L., 353, 362
 Sigel, I. E., 233, 241
 Siller, J., 233, 241
 Silver, A. W., 292, 313
 Skoripska, J., 346, 362
 Smith, J., 206
 Smith, W., 283, 289
 Smock, C., 260, 263
 Snygg, D., 4, 19, 21
 Sontag, L. W., 33, 40, 232, 241
 Southard, C., 387
 Spears, W. D., 167, 180, 191, 192,
 205, 256
 Spiegelman, M., 128, 129, 142
 Spock, B., 47
 Springer, D., 98, 110
 Staines, J., 217, 218, 226
 Stendler, C. B., 122, 133, 142, 172,
 181, 190, 191, 206, 319, 336
 Stevenson, H., 195, 206
 Stiles, L. J., 147
 Stoltz, H., 271, 274, 275, 276, 287, 288,
 289, 290
 Stoltz, L., 271, 274, 275, 276, 287, 288,
 289, 290
 Stone, L. J., 68, 87
 Strang, R., 285, 286, 287, 288, 290,
 336
 Strauss, A., 197, 206
 Strodtbeck, F. L., 128, 133, 142
 Stroup, A., 50, 62
 Strunk, O., 377, 378, 389
 Stuart, H. C., 33, 39, 88, 279, 290
 Sullenger, T., 172, 181
 Sullivan, H. S., 67, 68, 69, 80, 87
 Super, D., 322, 323, 336
 Sutton-Smith, B., 243, 262
 Swanson, G., 54, 55, 56, 58, 61
 Swanson, S., 215, 226
 Swensen, C., Jr., 199, 206
 Taba, H., 151, 156, 159, 364, 389
 Taguchi, Y., 104, 110
 Tanner, J. M., 280, 290
 Tasch, R., 190, 205
 Taschuk, W., 326, 328, 331, 336
 Terwilliger, C., 142
 Thompson, A., 322, 336
 Thompson, C., 83, 87
 Thompson, G., 237, 241
 Thurston, J., 48, 62
 Tiedeman, D., 323, 330, 336
 Tolbert, J., 307, 312
 Torrance, E. P., 368, 369, 389
 Trager, H., 113, 122
 Tryon, C., 164, 181, 306, 307, 313,
 350
 Tseng, S. C., 167, 180, 221, 225
 Tuddenham, R., 274, 289
 Tuma, E., 332, 336
 Tyler, F. T., 332, 333, 336
 Tyler, L., 248, 249, 263
 Ugurel-Semin, R., 236, 237, 241
 Van Engen, H., 234, 235, 240
 Veroff, J., 374, 388
 Vinacke, E., 191, 192, 206
 Wallin, W., 172, 181
 Walsh, A., 259, 263
 Walters, J., 104, 110, 312
 Walters, R., 293, 294, 312, 342, 345,
 361
 Ward, A., 141

- Warner, W. L., 53, 178, 181
 Warson, S., 45, 61
 Watson, E. H., 33, 40, 88, 89, 90, 110,
 183, 184, 206, 211, 272, 273, 290
 Wattenberg, W., 148, 159
 Weir, M., 195, 206
 Westley, W., 295, 312
 White, G., 159
 White, J. B., 153, 159
 White, R. K., 218, 219, 226
 Whiting, J., 49, 62
 Whitman, W., 41
 Wickins, A., 321, 336
 Wilk, R. E., 381, 389
 Witryol, S., 237, 241
- Witty, P., 245, 263
 Wood, P., 257, 262
 Woodworth, R. S., 30, 40
 Wright, H., 126, 141, 168, 180, 299
- Xydis, G., 388
- Yamamoto, K., 368, 389
 Young, N., 190, 191, 206
- Zelen, S., 222, 226
 Zeleny, 323, 334
 Zeligs, R., 229, 241
 Zuckerman, C., 22
 Zuk, G., 373, 389

Index of Subjects

- Achievement, divergent and convergent thinking and,** 368-369, 374-380
family setting and, 342-343
 feelings of, 65
 need for, 44, 161, 200, 342-343,
 379-380
 peer acceptance and, 163-164
 in school, 185, 213
 self-concept and, 259-260, 330,
 379-380, 385
 sex and, 220
 social class and, 135-136
Activity, development and, 9 ff
 need for, 8-9
 of peers, 170-173, 311
Adequacy, 42, 43, 65, 174, 185, 200,
 221-222, 308, 326-327, 355
Adolescence, body image and the self in, 280-289
 defined, 268-269
 instability of organization in, 268-269
 peer-adult relationships in, 178
 physical growth in, 271-280

- Adolescence (Cont.)**
 sex-role identification in, 269
 transactional viewpoint of, 267-270
See also Adolescence, early; Adolescence, late
Adolescence, early: conceptual development in, 314-324; intellectual development in, 314-318; interests in, 321-324; parent-child relationships in, 291-297; peer culture in, 303, 306-311; school and, 297-301; self-concept in, 324-333; society and, 301-303; values in, 318-321; vocational aspirations in, 322-324
late: conceptual development in, 363-372; conflict in, 345-347; family setting in, 341-348; identification in, 344-345; intellectual development in, 366-370; interests in, 370-372, 383; interpersonal world in, 341-360; peers in, 351, 354-360; physical stability in, 339-341; school in, 350-354; self-concept in, 352

- Affection in children, 104-105, 203
 Age, concepts and, 94-109, 196, 227, 233
 grade levels and, 149
 intellectual development and, 314-318
 interests and, 247-248
 language and, 73-74
 peer groups and, 165, 175-176, 307-308
 physical growth, 88-90, 182-184
 standards for, 52-58
 See also Development; Maturational
 Aggression, 58, 59, 104, 202, 238, 293-294
 Anchorage point(s), development of, 71-73
 family as, 42, 294, 326
 peers as, 326
 self as, 83-84, 86
 spatial, 95, 98
 temporal, 98
 Attitudes, *see* Values; Concepts
 Australia, children in, 172, 243-244
 Biochemical organization, development of, 25 ff
 uniqueness and, 14
 Body image, *see* Self-awareness
- California Behavior Inventory for Nursery School Children*, 44
 California Growth Study, 13, 210-211, 271, 274-276, 278, 282-284, 287-289, 314-318, 371
 Canada, adolescents in, 325-328, 331, 376
 Categorization, 11, 76-77, 116, 194, 233
 See also Concepts
 Child-rearing practices, nursing, 47-49
 studies of, 53-60
 toilet-training, 49
 weaning, 48
Children's Manifest Anxiety Scale, 257
 Classroom climate, 217-218, 299-300
 Cognition, *see* Concepts; Conceptual development; Intelligence; Perception
 Concepts, causality, of, 194, 198, 230-232, 236
 of fairness, 107, 197, 320
 of honesty, 318-319
 of justice, 198, 231
 of mathematics, 195-197, 228-229
 of others, 105, 139-140, 197-200, 380-381, 387
 Concepts (Cont.)
 of parents, 99, 103-104, 187-188, 290-292, 342, 344-345
 peers, 190-192
 of quantity, 99-101
 of religion, 230, 319-320
 of school, 188-190, 213
 of science, 195-197, 228-229
 of siblings, 187-188
 of size, 98-99
 of space, 95-97
 symbolic, 191-198
 of time, 97-98, 229
 of value, 197-198, 235-240, 318-321
 vocabulary and, 193-195
 vocations, 323-324, 365
 world, 305
 See also Self-concept
 Conceptual development, 65-77, 94-109, 187-198, 227-241, 314-324, 363-372
 Convergent thinking, 366-372, 379-380, 383
 Creativity, 121, 203-204, 366-372, 379-380
 Culture, and the adolescent, 267-270, 301-305, 345-346, 348-350, 363-366
 conceptual development and, 196-197, 227-229, 236-237, 318-319, 363-372
 development, impact upon, 6, 9, 17-18, 125-140, 196, 343-344
 expectations of, 51-60, 119, 199, 242-243, 285-286, 301-305, 343-346
 family as agent of, 41-42
 identification and, 112-113
 interests and, 249-250
 peer group and, 162, 303
 of peers, 160-179, 221-224, 299, 303-311, 354-360
 of school, 143-158, 185, 297-301, 306-307, 350-354
 in social mobility, 128
 uniqueness and, 14-15, 275
 and ways of life, 127-128
 Curriculum, 153-158, 350-351
 changes in, 145, 385-387
 See also School expectations
 Defense device(s), perceptual, 16, 119-120, 260, 333
 withdrawal as, 202
 Delinquency, 166, 174, 176, 293-295, 320, 332-333
 Detroit Area Study, 54-58, 214, 224
 Development, activity and, 9 ff
 biological bases for, 25-39, 63-64

Development (Cont.)

of concepts, 65-77, 94-109, 187-198, 227-241, 318-320, 363-365
defined, 5 ff
family influences upon, 41-60
of language, 78-77, 190-194
of motor control, 63-65, 91-93, 182-184, 210-212
as organization, 10-13
pattern of, 12-18, 37, 63-64, 88, 92, 99-101, 102, 183, 190, 194, 210-212, 228-229, 233, 237, 271-280
pre-natal influences on, 31-34
as a process, 5 ff, 11 ff, 275-276
redefined, 10
self-system and, 18-20
See also Conceptual Development; Intelligence; Physical growth; Self

Differentiation, 68, 320
of others, 105-106, 187, 192, 327, 344
process of, 11, 63, 66, 99, 101, 334
self and, 18, 72, 84, 121, 192, 220, 258, 261, 327, 344
of sex-role, 104
Divergent thinking, 366-372, 379-380, 383
Drawings of children as a research procedure, 103, 199, 283

Emotions and feelings, 12
in adolescence, 270, 281-289, 304, 307, 327, 375-376
contagion of, in group, 310
cultural influences upon, 58
defense and, 16, 119-120, 202, 260
333
family, role in, 41, 50-52, 78
handling of, 118-120, 157, 201-203, 326
identification and, 82, 113
language development and, 77
maternal, 32-33, 51
meanings and, 65 ff, 72
ordinal position and, 44-45
pre-natal effects of, 32-33
self-evaluation and, 116-117
thinking and, 108, 234
England, children in, 130, 233, 236-237, 249, 301, 309, 319
Ethnic membership, 128, 133-134, 267
effects of on children, 104, 134-137, 178
peer status and, 355-356

Family setting, 41-61
child's concepts of, 90, 103-104, 187-188, 216

Family setting (Cont.)

entrepreneurial vs. bureaucratic, 54-58, 214-215
as interpersonal field, 43-60, 67-69, 103, 214-217, 291-297, 341-348
language development and, 51, 73, 77-78, 84
in late adolescence, 341-348
ordinal position, 43-45
peer acceptance and, 164, 304, 343
self-acceptance and, 84
social mobility and, 382
structure, 43-47
See also Parent-child relationships

Fels Children's Behavior Scale, 44

Fels Research Center, 232

France, children in, 162

Gifted children, 150, 163, 317, 369, 379-380, 386

Goodenough Draw-A-Man Test, 136

Guidance, 317-318, 322, 324, 385-387

Handedness, 92-93

Health, 26-29

in adolescence, 279-280

of mother, 33-34

in preadolescence, 210

Heredity, disease tendencies and, 26-29

environment and, 7, 30-31

intelligence and, 29-30, 315-317

physical appearance and, 25-26

temperament and, 30

Homeostasis, 9

Identification, defined, 79

with father, 111-112, 293-294, 344-345

functions of, 79-82

learning and, 59, 85

with mothering one, 82, 344

process of, 78-82, 111-116, 198-200, 327, 345

role-playing and, 114-116

with sex-role, 111-114, 175, 187, 198-199, 242-245, 269, 294, 329, 344-345, 373-374

Independence, attainment of, 329

striving for, 117-118, 177-178, 201, 295-297

training for, 53, 214-215

India, students in, 127-128, 139-140

Infant Care, needs and, 34-35

nursing, 47-49

rooming-in, 10

Integration, intelligence and, 316

process of, 11, 63, 334, 344

- Integration (*Cont.*)
of self, 18, 72, 84, 328, 383
- Intelligence, 7
creativity and, 368-370
differentiation of factors of, 366-368
environment and, 29-30, 315-318,
342
growth of, 232-233, 314-318, 366-
368, 383
heredity and, 29-30, 315-317
peer acceptance and, 163-164
self-evaluation of body and, 288
self-system and, 29, 317, 366
social class and, 135-136, 316
tests of, 232-233, 368-370
twin studies of, 29-31
- Interests, development of, 249
inventories of, 247, 248, 323, 324
occupational, 248-250, 370-372,
383
in reading, 245-246, 321-322
recreational, 245
self and, 370-372
- Interpersonal relations, in adolescence,
291-311, 341-360, 380-381, 387
in family, 43-60
in infancy, 67-69
perceptions of, 188
in school, 151-152
See also Transactions
- Interviews as a research procedure,
53-54, 98, 188, 219, 223, 293
- Israel, children in, 162
- Japan, adolescents in, 319, 345, 363
children in, 249-250
personality patterns in, 189
- Kuder Preference Record*, 323, 324
- Language, 17
cultural factors and, 136-137
development, 51, 73-78, 84, 106-
109, 193-195
of peers, 170
role-playing and, 114
self and, 83, 107
- Learning, associative, 108
concepts and, 99-100, 234
as continuous, 150
of culture, 42, 59-60
differentiation as, 99-100
experiments, 103-104, 234
identification and, 59, 81, 111-116
intellectual development and, 31,
317
language and, 73-78, 106-107, 195
maturation and, 7, 49, 196-197
meanings and, 65, 72-73
motor control and, 63, 183-185
- Learning (*Cont.*)
in peer group, 176-177
role-playing and, 114-116
self-system and, 83-84
See also Self
- Loving, 50-52
- Mass media, 128-130, 245-247, 285,
301, 321-322, 329, 349
- Maturation, in adolescence, 271-280
conceptual development and, 196,
236-237
intellectual development and, 314-
318
in language development, 73
learning and, 7, 49, 109, 184-185
motor control and, 63-65, 120, 183-
185, 211-212
school culture and, 298-299
self-evaluation and, 201, 212-214,
280-289, 332
structure-function and, 49
- Meanings, 4, 10, 11, 75
body image and, 284-285
defined, 65
development of, 65-73, 76-77, 230-
232
expansion of, 94-109, 212-214, 320
language and, 107, 193-194, 197
need for, 17, 63
perception and, 16
- Menarche, 277, 279-280
- Middle-childhood, 182-206
bodily factors in, 182-186
concepts in, 187-198
family in, 187-188
peers in, 188
school in, 188-190
self-development in, 198-204
- Mind-body concept, 7, 10, 12, 270
- Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory*, 257, 374
- Moro response, 37
- Motivation, 17, 154, 177, 305, 342-
343, 379-380, 386
See also Self-concept and behavior
- Motor control, development of, 63-65,
91-93, 210-212
peer group formation and, 162,
212-214
self and, 64-68, 93-94, 212-214
- National Defense Education Act, 322
- Navaho culture, 304-305
- Needs, 16, 34-36, 68, 161-162, 323
as seen by parents, 215
- Nutrition, in adolescence, 279-280
of mother, 33
of young child, 91

- Observations of behavior, 85, 104, 126, 154–155, 175, 188, 219, 299–300
 Oedipus, 50, 242, 245
 Open-energy system, 5, 8–9, 71
 self as an, 18, 383
 Ordinal position, 44–45
 Organismic viewpoint, 7
 Organization, as development, 10–13, 176
 heredity-environment and, 31
 of the individual, 4, 6–8
 in infancy, 38, 63
 instability of, in adolescence, 268–269, 278–279, 334, 339
 of intelligence, 317
 of peer groups, 163–169, 355–356
 perception and, 15
 process of, 68–82, 339–341
 self and, 18, 85, 331
 Other-direction, 360, 377, 379
- Parent-child relationships, in adolescence, 268–270, 291–297, 341–348
 father-son, 293–294, 342
 mother-child, 48, 103, 342
 mother-daughter, 302–304
 in preadolescence, 209
 self-development and, 51–52, 117–118
 See also Interpersonal relations
 Peer society, acceptance in: factors affecting, 162–166, 306–307; values of, 165–166, 349
 activities in, 170–173, 311, 357–359; values of, 173–175, 306–311
 in adolescence, 296, 303, 306–311, 340–341, 351, 354–360
 adults, relations with, 177–178, 359
 age, changes with, 175–176
 codes and customs in, 169–170
 group: characteristics of, 163–175, 355–356; formation of, 161–163; functions of the, 176–177, 351, 354
 in middle-childhood, 188
 in preadolescence, 221–224
 in preschool years, 102, 104–105
 roles in, 168–169, 199, 308–309
 self-concept and, 307, 309–311, 359–360, 380–381
 sex cleavage in, 166–168
 world of, 160–179
 Perception, cultural experience and, 137
 as defense, 16, 119–120, 137, 333, 377–379
 defined, 15
 family of, 43, 52, 59, 72, 202, 291–292

- Perception (*Cont.*)
 Hanover experiments in, 95–97
 identification and, 79–80, 115, 344–345
 language and, 77
 of other, 80, 327, 380–381
 of peers, 221–224
 role-playing and, 169
 of school, 219–220
 self and, 18, 71, 86, 186, 257, 327, 340–341
 thinking and, 107, 108
 uniqueness as role in, 15
 See also Self; concepts
 Personality, child-rearing and adult, 47–50
 in different cultures, 304–305
 intelligence and, 233
 peer status and, 307–309
 See also Self
 Physical growth, 88–90, 182–185, 210–212, 251, 271–280, 339–341
 Physiological changes in adolescence, 277–280, 339
 Play, children's, 69, 114–115, 199–200, 204, 212–214, 246–247
 Poland, adolescents in, 345–346
 Preadolescence, conceptual development in, 227–241
 identification in, 242–245
 interests in, 245–250
 parent attitudes toward, 215, 238
 peer behavior in, 171–172, 209, 221–224
 physical growth in, 210–214
 school life in, 217–221
 self-conceptualizing in, 251–260
 self-development in, 212–214
 Prenatal influences, 31–34
 Prejudice, 113, 139
 Problem solving, 104, 197
 See also Conceptual development
 Projection, 80
 Projective techniques, 167, 221, 238, 243, 248, 259, 282–284, 293, 332
 Purdue Opinion Polls, 320, 326, 375
 Q-sort technique, 256, 328
 Quincy Youth Study, 342–343
 Readiness for experiences, at birth, 36–38
 in school, 184–186
 Research techniques, drawings, 103, 199, 283
 interest inventories as, 247
 interviews, 53–54, 98, 188, 219, 223, 293

- Research techniques (Cont.)**
 observations, 85, 104, 126, 154-155, 175, 188, 219, 299-300
 projective techniques, 167, 221, 238, 243, 248, 259, 282-284, 293, 332
 Q-sort, 256, 328
 self-report as, 167, 188, 217-218, 222, 246, 256-259, 284, 292-293, 325-326, 331-332, 374, 378
 sociometric studies, 166-168, 175, 306-307
Responsibility, development of, 158, 215-216
Role-playing, 113-116
 peer culture in, 168-169, 199-200
Rorschach Test, 283
Rotter Incomplete Sentence Blank, 376
Samoan culture, 304-305
School culture, 143-158
 academic expectations in, 156, 235-236, 352-353
 behavioral expectation, 157-158, 213, 354
 in grouping and grading, 149-151, 297-298, 369
 in high school, 350-354
 individual differences in, 275
 in junior high, 297-301, 306-307
 nonpromotion, effects of, 149-150
 physical plant and, 152-153
 routines and, 153-156, 189
 self and, 149-150, 156, 158, 185-186, 190, 217-220, 257-260, 298, 330, 385-387
 status relationships in, 151-152
School expectation, 105, 143-144, 150, 152, 153-158, 213, 235-236, 352-354
Security, 42, 44, 326-327, 329
 and absence of father, 46
 See also Emotions; Self-acceptance
Self, in adolescence, 270, 281-289, 370-384
 behavior and, 86
 cultural expectations and, 57, 58
 development of, 4, 35, 52, 60, 156, 258-259, 270
 identification and, 79-82, 242-245
 interests and, 370-372
 language and, 76-78, 106-107, 195
 mothering in infancy and, 39, 47-49
 parent-child relationships, and, 51-52
 peer acceptance, and, 165-166
 perception and, 18, 71
 social mobility and, 381-382
 See also Self-concept
Self-acceptance, 84-85, 186, 202-203, 222, 282, 328, 374, 377-382, 385-387
Self-actualization, 10, 378-379, 387
Self-awareness, of body, 69-71, 99, 186, 200, 212-213, 251-256, 281-289, 326, 340-341
 in early adolescence, 321
 emergence of, 74, 83-86, 101
 minority membership and, 138
 peers and, 105-244
Self-concept, accuracy of, 257-258, 330-331
 in adolescence, 279, 280-289, 292-293, 303
 behavior and, 259-260, 310, 332-333
 conceptual learning and, 235
 cultural forces and, 137-139
 defined, 19
 in early adolescence, 324-333
 of early adolescent boys, 325-327
 of early adolescent girls, 4
 experience and, 67, 69-71, 84
 interests and, 245, 248-249, 370-372
 in late adolescence, 373-382
 measurement of, 276, 325, 384-385
 See also Research techniques
 motor control and, 93-94
 ordinal position and, 44-45
 peer acceptance and, 309-311
 physical growth and, 89, 99, 279, 281-289, 326
 in preadolescence, 251-260
 and school, 149-150, 156, 158, 185-186, 190, 217-220
 social mobility and, 381-382
 stability of, 292-293, 331-332, 377-379
Self-evaluation, 42, 67, 116-117, 137-139, 200-201, 212-214, 224, 251-256, 281-289, 323-333, 374-380, 385-387
Self-expression, 120-121, 186, 202-203, 244
Self-report, 167, 188, 217-218, 222, 246, 256-259, 284, 292-293, 325-326, 331-332, 374, 378
Self-system, 4, 5, 26
 behavior and, 19-20, 259-260
 defined, 18
 development of, 18-20, 63-86, 111-122, 334
 intelligence and, 29
 as learned, 83-84, 200, 218, 334
 openness of, 85-86, 334
 peer group and, 162-163, 166, 200
 roles and, 168-169, 199-200

- Sex, 46
 in adolescence, 295, 301, 320, 329, 340, 346-348, 356-358
 attitudes toward, 69-70, 281, 296, 340, 346-348
 cleavage in peer culture, 166-168, 221
 cultural expectations and, 52-60, 215-216, 301
 delinquencies, 295
 occupational choice and, 244-245, 323
 peer expectations for popularity and, 306-311, 329
 physical growth and, 88-90, 210-212, 251, 271-280
 role, 59, 103-104, 111-114, 175, 198-199, 223, 242-245, 269
 school behavior and, 148, 237-238
- Siblings, attitudes toward, 81
 conceptions of, 187-188
 personality variables and, 44-45
- Significant others, 67-68
- Social class, 103, 130-132
 adolescent achievement and, 342-343
 child-rearing and, 47, 49
 conceptual development and, 233-234, 237, 319
 effects on children, 134-135
 and expectations for behavior, 53-60, 202, 214-215
 intelligence and, 135-136, 316
 interests and, 246-247
 in mass media, 129
 peer culture and, 164, 172, 222-223, 309, 355-358
 schools and, 145, 219-220
 self-concept and, 332
 self-expression and, 120-121
 teachers' origins and, 146-148
- Social mobility, 381-382
- Sociometric studies, 166-168, 175, 306-307
- Stanford-Binet Intelligence Test*, 194, 234
- Steady-state, the, 9, 20, 37
- Strong Vocational Interest Blank*, 248, 323
- Structure-function, 6-7, 10, 49, 182
- Sucking reflex, 37-38
- Switzerland, children in, 195
- Tactile communication, 39, 51, 66, 68-69
- Teachers, attitudes of toward pupils, 148, 165, 202-203, 217-218, 224, 259, 330, 350, 352-354
 social origins of, 146-148
 status relationships among, 151-152
- Television, *see* Mass media
- Television for Children, 129, 142
- Thematic Apperception Test*, 282, 288, 293, 332
- Thought, 106-109
 autistic, 107
See also Cognition
- Toilet-training, 49
- Transactional viewpoint, 3-4, 35
 of adolescence, 267-270, 306, 321, 387
- Transactions, 4, 9, 18
 adult-peer, 177-178
 conceptual, 73-74, 196, 227
 in early adolescence, 334
 in family, 80
 handedness and, 92-93
 language development and, 78
 mother-child, 69-70
 in nursing, 34-35, 48
 physical development and, 276
 self-system and, 20, 81, 83-84, 286-287
 values, in development of, 236
- Turkey, children in, 236-237
- Uniqueness: individual, 13-16
 biochemical, 14
 commonality and, 17
 concepts and, 100-101
 in early adolescence, 334
 family expectations and, 60
 in intelligence, 232-233, 317
 peer acceptance and, 165-166, 359-360
 physical growth and, 88, 275-276, 280
 self-system and, 18, 21, 83
 social class and, 134
 of teachers, 148
- Values, 81, 82, 113-114, 349
 of adolescents early, 306, 311, 318-321
 of adolescents late, 363-366
 of peers, 165, 173-175, 222-223, 306-311, 349
 of preadolescents, 235-240
 school and, 144-148, 155
- Vocational aspirations, 270, 322-324, 371-372
 accuracy of, 322-324, 372
See also Interests, occupational
- Warner Scale for Social Class, 53
- Yale Clinic of Child Development, 85, 102